Daily Report

Latin America

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Friday
28 December 1990

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NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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Caricom Chairman Manley Deplores Suriname Coup

FL2712235090 Bridgetown CANA in English 2311 GMT 27 Dec 90

[Text] Kingston, Jamaica, Dec 27, CANA—Chairman of the Caribbean Community [Caricom], Jamaica's Prime Minister Michael Manley, Thursday night deplored the toppling of the elected Suriname Government by the military and threatened to reconsider Suriname's observer status to Caricom.

"We strongly deplore this unconstitutional suppression of the democratic process in Suriname—a process which had provided a favourable climate for advancing the welfare of the Surinamese as well as strengthening Suriname's relations with Caricom," Manley said.

"The Caribbean Community urges that there be full restoration of democratic and constitutional government freely chosen by the people of Suriname," he said in a statement issued by the official JAMPRESS NEWS AGENCY. Manley said failing a restoration of the government he intends "to invite Caricom heads of government to reconsider the future relationship between Suriname and the Community."

The 13-member economic cooperation and integration movement of English-speaking Caribbean countries has granted observer status to Suriname, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic.

Barbados Prime Minister Erskine Sandiford has called for an embargo on trade with the South American country.

The Suriname Armed Forces overthrew the government of the former Dutch colony in a bloodless coup Christmas Eve. They said Thursday that a new government would be announced Friday. The coup has been condemned internationally and by Holland which has suspend all aid to its former colony. The Organisation of American States is to discuss the issue Friday.

Weekly Roundup of Drug Seizures

PY2712115690

[Editorial Report] Following is a compilation of reports on drug seizures and arrests related to drug trafficking in the Paraguay bureau coverage area from 2 December to 22 December. Source, date, and time are given in parentheses after each item.

Argentina

The Buenos Aires Police have dismantled a drug ring that comprises a couple and their five children after raiding the family country house where they seized seven kg of highly pure cocaine, scales, a metal press, and other elements used to fractionate the drug. The arrested family, whose identity has not been disclosed because of the continuing investigations, reportedly smuggled the drugs into the country from Bolivia. (Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1445 GMT 21 Dec 90)

The Salta Police Antinarcotics Division seized 1,560 liters of ether and acetone which was to have been used to produce drugs in southern Bolivia during a raid on an inhabited building on Santiago Morales Street, Salta. No one was arrested during the operation. (Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1016 GMT 12 Dec 90)

Brazil

The Federal Police have seized a total of 12 kg of pure cocaine in Mato Grosso do Sul. The drug was found inside two vehicles with Santa Catarina license plates. The merchandise was to have been sold in Joinville. Drug traffickers Luiz Flores Rubio de Castro, Mauricio Rubio, and student Roceli Alves Lopez said they had bought the drug in Santa Cruz, Bolivia. (Brasilia Radio Nacional da Amazonia Network in Portuguese 0900 GMT 22 Dec 90)

Chile

Members of the Investigative Police have arrested drug traffickers Rodolfo Sanchez, 39, who is Chilean; Andres Savorani, 38, who is Argentine; and Hernan Valenzuela, 44, who is Chilean. The police also seized one kg of highly pure cocaine that had been purchased in Buenos Aires by Sanchez and taken to Santiago by Savorani. Savorani was trying to smuggle it out of the country to Papeete when he was arrested at the Pudahuel airport. (Santiago LA TERCERA in Spanish 7 Dec 90 p 38)

The Investigative Police have arrested Colombian drug trafficker Alfonso Lopez, 37, who was carrying two kg of cocaine hydrochloride and a forged Costa Rican passport which he said had been given to him by a member of the Medellin Cartel. (Santiago EL MERCURIO in Spanish 11 Dec 90 p C13)

Two Bolivian citizens, identified as Veronica Condori Huanca, 23, and M.C.C., 15, were arrested by the Investigative Police on highway A-16 carrying one kg of cocaine hydrochloride which they had been asked to take to Iquique by a drug trafficker in Sabaya, Bolivia. (Santiago LA TERCERA in Spanish 14 Dec 90 p 38)

The Investigative Police in Arica have dug up several bags containing a total of four kg of cocaine near the border following the arrest of two men who confessed to having brought the drug from Cochabamba, Bolivia. The criminals are (Bernabe Yampara), 32, who is Bolivian, and (Roberto Juan Pavena), 25, who is Chilean. (Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 1000 GMT 19 Dec 90)

Peru

Daniel A. Rojas Q., a.k.a. "Daniel," an alleged supplier to an international drug ring that has connections in Madrid, Belgium, and the FRG, has been arrested by the Technical Police. The ring was dismantled following the arrest of Cesar Figuereo Laos, 49, at the Jorge Chavez airport in Lima.

Rojas was arrested on bloc eight of Los Alcanfores Avenue, Miraflores neighborhood. He reportedly asked

Eulalio Calderon Irupaylla, 45, and Antonio Israel Felinich Furrifino, 31, who were also arrested, to sell drugs to Laos, who was arrested while trying to board a plane for Madrid with 4,325 grams of cocaine hydrochloride. (Lima EL COMERCIO in Spanish 2 Dec 90 p A13)

The arrest of several drug traffickers and the seizure of 35.5 kg of cocaine base paste in less than a week alerted the local police to the possible use of this city again as a route for international drug trafficking. Yavari councilman Genaro Alvarado Ortiz was arrested while carrying five and a half kg of cocaine paste base bound for the Amazon Trapezium (Peru, Colombia, and Brazil).

Moreover, Sergio Minaya Wong, Rafael Rengifo Pizarro, Francisco Flores Davilas, Julio Chavez Vera, and Santos Lescano Ruiz were arrested as they prepared to sail toward the Brazilian border with a shipment of 20 kg of cocaine. (Lima EXPRESO in Spanish 9 Dec p 13)

Cuba

Castro Addresses FEU Congress Closing

PA2612024090 Havana Cubavision Network in Spanish 0200 GMT 22 Dec 90

[Speech given by President Fidel Castro at the closing ceremony of the Fourth Congress of the Federation of University Students (FEU) at the Havana Palace of Conventions on 20 December—recorded]

[TexT] Comrades: I do not know if Felipe cried this evening because of all the emotional moments he has lived through, but I do know that it was difficult for me to hold back the tears in my eyes, especially when I heard the letter from that young man as it was being read and when I received it from his mother.

There have been many emotional moments this evening. We almost forgot problems, and it is great that we are able to forget problems in the midst of a battle.

I know we have guests, that there are foreign journalists here. I do not know if they will clearly understand what is happening. They may be thinking: Well, this country is experiencing a special time.

This country is the standard-bearer of socialism in the Western hemisphere. It is also the sole standard-bearer of socialism in much of the world. [applause] This country is the banner of socialism at a time when socialism has crumbled in many countries. We could ask ourselves: What kind of socialism was this that crumbled? Can true socialism crumble? Can a country that lived in socialism return to capitalism?

That eloquent letter was written in Prague by a young man who was not heading for Paris or London or Rome. He was leaving for Angola, where the situation is difficult, to work and fulfill an internationalist mission. Prague is the capital of the country that, a few hours ago, with a sickening opportunistic position, announced that it would no longer represent Cuba's interests in the United States.

We, as decent gentlemen, have let them take the step despite the fact that for a long time we had been considering them unworthy of representing Cuba's interests anywhere. [applause]

We did not take the step. We let them take it—they, who today are vulgar agents of the empire. They have gone to such an extreme as to send troops to participate in a war in the Gulf.

We had better not talk about this anymore because if we were able to hold back our tears earlier, we do not want to vomit now. [applause]

This is a country where many expected that socialism would crumble. Deadlines were set for the time when this would happen. We still face such deadlines. Time goes by, however, and the bags that the worms [reference to Cuban dissidents living abroad] had prepared are now filled with moths. It would be a good idea for them to use some of those little white balls, whose name I do not remember but used to see as a kid, that are put in closets to prevent the cockroaches from eating the clothes.

Companies were organized to determine how property should be returned to the previous owners, the large land owners, the industrialists, the foreign enterprises, and to the homeowners of homes for rent. I imagine this also includes the owners of schools—the owners of everything, because here everything had an owner.

At least regarding the land, I do not know how they will manage because I, who have been traversing our countryside for more than 30 years and participating in the road and highway construction programs, can assure you that I can get lost when I go through the province of Havana. It is hard for me to recognize the roads, even the ones that I saw under construction and visited when they were being built. They are thousands of kilometers long. In our countryside so many things have happened. Our countryside has been filled with such things as secondary, preparatory, and technological schools; dams; canals; storehouses; workshops; state-owned enterprises; and cooperatives. There were peasants who paid rent or worked under a partnership arrangement. I do not think that there is anyone alive who knows where his large landed estate was. It is even possible that they will find the land under a dam, one of the hundreds of small, medium-sized, or large dams built by the revolution. After calculating the number of hectares of water-covered land available for our seafood cultivating projects, we found that 120,000 hectares of land were involved. It is impossible for our homeland to turn back.

When the Eastern European countries and socialism, or what they thought was socialism, collapsed, all of the efforts, publicity, and campaigns turned against Cuba. Only Cuba was left. The Cuban revolution had to be liquidated. If the reactionaries of the world and imperialists are not completely happy, it is simply because socialism remains in Cuba. It is simply because a country resisted. I am not speaking of an Eastern European country, or a gigantic country that by itself constitutes a world, such as China, Korea, or Vietnam, which are 20,000 km away from us, but a country which is here, deep in the heart of the West and a few miles, if we think about Key West, or a few inches, if we think about the Guantanamo Naval Station, away from the most powerful empire that ever existed in the history of mankind, an empire that almost unilaterally practices hegemony throughout the world.

In view of this, we would do well to wonder why the Cuban revolution has not crumbled, even though not just very important political events, but those that have made a tremendous impact on our country's economy have taken place. When the socialist countries and the political processes in the Eastern European countries collapsed, our economy suffered a tremendous shock because, as a result of the increased U.S. blockade, a

sizeable portion of our trade, as well as the finished products, raw materials, and equipment that we had been receiving, disappeared.

Not only that, but such events have taken place in the USSR, the country with which we have had the largest percentage of trade, a country that has supplied us with all our fuel and that has supplied us with a significant amount of our food, raw materials, and equipment. Those events, I repeat, also had a great impact on our economy.

The blockade has not been reduced one bit. Trade with all those Eastern European countries has vanished. Important events have taken place and a very serious situation has been created in the USSR, so it is nothing less than a historic feat—we could also say unprecedented—that our few people—few but brave, few but intelligent, few but tenacious, and few but heroic—have been able to keep the flag of socialism raised amid such incredible conditions. [applause, indistinct slogans] Keeping the flag raised went against all predictions, against all omens, against all calculations, and against all logic.

Comrades, we are no longer in the year 1959 or 1960, when the U.S. blockade began. With rare exceptions, the U.S. supplied us with all our industrial equipment, all our transport equipment, and all other working equipment. The blockade forced us to manufacture spare parts and to invent and improvise to keep the power plants, as well as the locomotives, the buses, the few tractors that we had, the refineries, and the factories working. There was great merit to this work. Back then, the USSR was at the peak of its prosperity, and because the Yankee multinational corporations withheld fuel, the USSR sent us fuel, as well as equipment, machines, raw materials, and food—virtually everything we needed when we were a nation of only 6.5 million inhabitants.

The support was particularly important during that difficult period. Of course, now the circumstances are more difficult. This is no longer a country of 6.5 million inhabitants; it now has 10.5 million. We no longer consume just 4 million tons of oil. We are no longer a country where barely 50 percent of the households had electricity; now more than 90 percent of the population, which has been nearly doubled, every day turns on light bulbs and household appliances. The population now consumes more than twice as much wheat, cooking oil, and many of the foods that we must inevitably import, and we go through much more clothing, footwear, medicine, and food.

The country has grown and has developed a public health system consisting of hundreds of hospitals and clinics, the doors of which are open every day. Three or four times more millions of people travel every day. Millions! Thousands upon thousands of schools have been opened. Universities have multiplied. The number of students receiving higher education has increased from 10,000 to hundreds of thousands [as heard], including regular students, those taking supervised courses [cursos dirigidos], and so on. This is a country where all the children go to school every morning with their uniforms, shoes, and books; a country where the number of mid-level students is greater than the number of primary-level students; a country that has more than 1,000 child care centers; a country that takes part in sports and has thousands of sport facilities; a country that has hundreds, thousands of cultural facilities; a country with hundreds of scientific institutions.

This is a country that consumes 13 million of tons of fuel and that this year has had available to it 3 million tons less—more than 25 percent, or a quarter, less fuel. This is a country that, despite much prospecting and drilling, barely produces 1 million tons of oil; a country without large rivers suitable for generating hydraulic energy; a country without coal or other raw materials that can be used as sources of energy. That is to say, the challenge for the revolution under these circumstances, and with the problems that the Soviet Union is encountering, is much greater. The challenge which resulted from the imperialist blockade, which has been in effect for more than 30 years, is now much greater and more difficult.

In 1959, to be a revolutionary and trust the revolution held great merit. In 1960 and 1961, mercenaries invaded us, bandits appeared, sabotage began, and hundreds of gangs emerged. There was much confusion. For decades, during which the people had been trained in the ideology of imperialism, capitalism, and McCarthyism, when there was much confusion, there was great merit in being a revolutionary.

Nevertheless, there were millions of revolutionaries. Students, in particular, were revolutionaries. Today, however, being a revolutionary implies something much greater, a much higher awareness. To be a revolutionary at present constitutes an act of trust, conviction, honor, courage, and heroism much higher than ever required in the history of our revolution.

I say in the history of our revolution because our people and homeland at other times passed through very hard and heroic experiences in the struggle for independence. It was the people who fought hard between 1868 and 1878, 10 years in the brushlands. The colonialists, the Spanish Army, controlled all large and small cities and towns and were continually supplied with arms, medicines, food, and everything else that the people being suppressed never received.

These people fought, even halfway across the island. In the first war, they could not fight any farther than Villaclara. They could not reach Matanzas, Havana, Pinar del Rio, the areas of the large plantations of sugarcane and coffee, where the main storage centers of wealth were. They fought for 10 years. The inheritance of heroism, tenacity, and the fighting spirit have not been handed down to us by mere chance. It is not a coincidence that we are remembering Baragua, what it became after 10 years. The fields were ravaged. No herds were

left in that huge territory, where there was no food or anything else. Some of the fighters even thought it was impossible to go on fighting.

Their spirit revealed itself, however, in a very special, insurmountable manner in that beautiful segment of our history, the protest of Baragua. None of those obstacles was sufficient enough to stop the impetus for independence of the people who defended those ideas. They even struggled against a large number of the people who were Spaniards or under Spanish influence. Not many years had elapsed when this struggle was resumed, when this chain of heroism repeated itself. The war lasted until the end of the century, but our homeland did not succeed in reaching full independence.

To say that to be a revolutionary now is extraordinarily meritorious, I have the obligation of recalling that at other very difficult times our fellow countrymen have been able to be revolutionary. It is highly meritorious to be a revolutionary at this moment of our revolutionary history.

Our demonstration of courage and heroism has been grandiose. We are now facing more powerful forces. We are confronting an imperialist system at the pinnacle of power. We are facing a social economic system—capitalism—in the pinnacle of power. We are confronting them at a moment when a significant number of former allies have capitulated. They have capitulated.

This is a moment when the forces, or a signficant part of the forces, from which we sought support for our struggle, no longer exist. This is a moment when our main ally is going through very difficult moments.

If we analyze this struggle, this process, from the political, ideological, and international points of view, especially if I take into consideration the alert way in which we do it, we can conclude that this challenge has no precedent in history.

I say this not to discourage anyone and I would much less try to do so with people that I know would never be discouraged. [applause]

I say this after thinking about the merits—one of the merits—of this generation, your merits, and our people's merits. I say it so that the greatness of our achievement will not be forgotten. I say it because I know we are going to persevere, I know we are going to survive, I know we are going to win. [applause] I say it because it is important that we understand that a challenge of this nature requires an extraordinary decision, great tenacity, and solid awarness. All must realize the circumstance we are facing while waging this struggle—circumstances that could stay as they are or worsen. These circumstances could grow worse quickly, but these are factors that are beyond our control and are uncertain. The situation, however, is not uncertain only for us. A large part of the world is living with great uncertainty. There are countries not far from Cuba, such as the Dominican Republic for example, where electricity ran for only four hours a day, even before the Persian Gulf crisis, when oil cost $14—now it is $30. If that untimely and catastrophic war breaks out, then oil will cost $60, $70, $80 or more, and who knows for how long. This means that all oil byproducts will cost more, everything will become more expensive; exports from non-oil producing countries will drop, and oil exporters will take the lion's share of the world's money. The situation for over 100 countries would be so catastrophic that no one knows what would happen. No one knows the degree of destabilization that would affect dozens of countries in the world; no one knows. These countries, with their debts and poverty, are facing the limits of what they can withstand. In these countries, problems are not resolved in the way we try to resolve them here. In these countries, the prices skyrocket. The poor sectors, which are the largest, have no purchasing power at all, while a small number of rich people continue to live in abundance and have plenty. We see this situation as intolerable. These countries are living in a terrible situation of uncertainty.

We need to encourage Cuba's dignified efforts to try to prevent war. For us this means that if fuel becomes short—if fuel reaches 9, 8, or 7 [not further specified] we would have no alternative than to go and get 500,000 tons or 1 million tons of oil. To get 1 million tons of fuel would require 3 million tons of sugar.

If we use all of the country's sugar to buy oil only, we would still receive less oil than the 4 million tons the country consumed at the beginning of the revolution.

The crisis further complicates situations resulting from the reduced amount of fuel we have been receiving from the USSR. As I said on 28 September, the future is uncertain despite the Soviet Union's efforts, and I will repeat that the Soviet Union, the leaders of the Soviet Union, those who are leading the Soviet Union, are working so that their problems will have as little negative effect on us as possible.

We must be prepared, however, to face worse difficulties. We must be ready to face any difficulty. We must be ready to face a no-fuel situation. This would be an extreme situation and it would require the most heroism, the most patriotism, and the most awareness.

I am talking about situations that could happen, including war, and these factors that have raised fuel prices to stratospheric levels.

Of course we are working, struggling, and doing everything we can and must do and we are doing it with dignity and intelligence in order to overcome obstacles and bypass stumbling blocks. This does not mean that everything is lost. No. It means that there is danger. There is danger. [repeats] The ability of the Soviet Union, with whom we maintain close relations of cooperation and mutual respect, to impede a disastrous situation will be a decisive factor. Many reports that we have received from the Soviets themselves reveal that the situation is very difficult. We believe that the situation is difficult, very difficult, but salvageable.

There are forces that want the Soviet Union to disintegrate and disappear from the face of earth. There are forces betting on disintegration and they play with the idea of a dangerous civil war.

There are forces that dream—and they have been encouraged by the West and by imperialism—I repeat, there are forces that dream of sweeping the USSR's socialism or anything that smells like Soviet power or anything that smells like internationalism, such as relations with Cuba.

They struggle for that goal. There are also forces in the USSR, however, that struggle for socialism and for the country's integration. They struggle to save the ideals of the October Revolution and those of Lenin.

Thus, while some sweep statues, others carry Lenin's ideals deep in their hearts. The revolution was not a coincidence in the USSR. The revolution was not imported to the USSR, no matter how many mistakes have been made.

Those deep and important changes were caused by a genuine and native revolution. It was one of the biggest achievements in the history of mankind. Without that revolution, the world might be fascist today. Without that revolution there would have been no liberation of the colonies. Without that revolution the world would be more divided today. We trust those historical facts, we trust those attributes, and we trust those people. We must, however, tell ourselves something and we must promise ourselves something: We said it a year and a half ago in Camaguey; we said that if the USSR disappears, if they have a civil war, we will continue to defend socialism.

When I said that, we did not have any of today's problems, anyone could have asked whether we were delirious. The Eastern European socialist countries had not even collapsed yet.

A few months after 26 July they collapsed, and then serious problems began appearing in the USSR. We, however, saw the perils a long time in advance, and we realized the need to get ready to defend socialism, even if the USSR did not exist. I do not believe that there can be another point of view or position.

That was Mambises' position during that war of 1878. It was also Maceo's position at Baraguas, and has been Cuba's position in the past. It is our position today and it will be our position in the future. [applause]

The homeland truly demands a basic sense of man's dignity, a basic sense of love for the country, and a basic sense of love for freedom. How many died in that fighting? Many died. It was the only alternative possible for the mind and heart of a revolutionary. It was the only alternative for a patriot at any time.

There have been different kinds of revolutionaries with different progressive forces at different times and during different stages in history. All of them somehow loved their homeland and their people. The homeland, in the modern sense of the word, did not exist in the beginning. Tribes defended their territories. This has been expressed with many phrases, such as "Give me liberty or give me death." This feeling is expressed in every national anthem ever written by men who always preferred to die rather than suffer dishonor, lose their homeland, or lose their dignity. It is reflected in our slogans, when we say, "Fatherland or death," or when we say, "Socialism or death." This is so clear, we do not want to live in any other way. We do not want our homeland to be like Miami or to be an extension of Florida. We cannot even imagine that imperialists will one day again plant their filthy boots on our land.

We cannot imagine how this beautiful country—with its rivers, land, mines, and factories—can stop being ours to become capitalist; to become monopolistic properties owned by individuals and private concerns. We cannot imagine how our schools, technological institutes, scientific research centers, and universities can stop being ours and be turned over to capitalists to be owned by monopolies or private enterprises. We cannot imagine how we can stop being what we are to become serfs, slaves, and property because men are property of a capitalist society. Work is a property, and the workforce is a property that is bought and sold and so is all that man is capable of producing with his intellignece and sweat for a boss--and we have long since abandoned the notion of a boss. We have deficiencies; we are constantly pointing them out and even complain that our education is not perfect, that the children do not learn as much as they should, that the classes are not as good as they should be, and footwear is poorly designed.

Sometimes school uniforms are discolored or there are not enough of them. Every day, however, more than 1 million children attend these schools. They do not attend school without shoes, naked, hungry, or without a notebook or pencil. All of them have a teacher. In fact, as I was saying at this congress, Cuba has the most teachers per capita in the world. The children all have schools. The schools may be old and may need to be painted, but they are there. The struggle is to ensure that everyone has a school. Retarded children go to a special school. If the child has a hearing problem or a sight impairment, he goes to a school for the deaf or blind. There are schools for those who are crippled, who have growth development problems, or who have any sort of problem. I will go so far as to say that no country in the world has such a high attendance rate for impaired children—nearly 100 percent. We may have problems in the 164 high schools which our young comrades attend, but the classes are good. We may complain that camps and schools in the countryside are not as good as we would like them. I am sure they will be in the future. Girls are not loitering in the streets, however, looking for Yankee marines or tourists, and learning to be prostitutes.

These girls without jobs and without education must go to school. It has been impossible to make them study. We will not turn schools into prisons, however. There is not

a single adolescent girl or youth between 15 and 18 years of age who has not completed preparatory or technological school or who is not attending a sports academy, a school of art, or a school for another field of study. I am not saying teachers' school because we no longer have that kind of school. We now have universities for teachers.

The revolution brought about all this pride, which is breathed through every pore and reflected in the character of our fellow citizens. Our people will never resign themselves to losing all this. Those who did not know of these facilities fought and died for them. We have not mentioned Mella, Jose Antonio, Fructuoso, Frank Pais, Abel Santamaria, or the thousands of young men who died for these things. It is necessary to remember that these men did not know this. When our people were willing to defend themselves with their blood and die—as happened in the Bay of Pigs—they did not have what they have today. They only had hope. During the October crisis, when all of our people were willing to die, they did not have what they now have. They only had hope. When the people are willing to die for hope, they are 10 and 100 times more willing to die defending those hopes that became reality. They will be willing to die for what we know as the goals of the revolution. A few hours ago we wondered: Who will bear this responsibility?

That is how our country progresses. That is how equality and opportunities for all emerged. They did not emerge for the rich, but for the people. They did not emerge for the landlords, but for the children of the most humble peasants and workers. They emerged for the children of the agricultural workers, the children of the coal miners, the children of the peasants who lived in the mountains, the children of the factories' and ports' workers, and for the children of the grave-digger and the street sweeper. They emerged for all children.

Women no longer had to work in a bordello, which was perhaps the largest source of employment for Cuban women. Nowadays, women make up the majority of doctors in our hospitals. They also comprise the majority of technicians in our scientific research centers. Almost 60 percent of the technical force is made up of women.

It was the children of the humble people who had this opportunity; they are the revolution and the revolution's force. Maybe they do not understand. Maybe it is hard for many people outside this country to understand. It may be hard for visitors to understand, but that is not all. If you stop and think of the things that have happened in other countries, you will realize that they have not happened here. Some say that things were collectivized by force here. Nothing was collectivized by force here. In our fields, there are 70,000, [corrects himself] between 60,000 and 70,000 organized independent farmers. Many farmers have their own small piece of land.

There are 800,000 hectares on which the cooperatives in our country are organized strictly and absolutely on voluntary bases; the facts prove it. The state-owned enterprises drew basically from large estates and from landowners. Those lands were not distributed, and it was very wise not to distribute them.

Now we see it through our same efforts in the provinces, and thousands of Havana inhabitants are witnesses of what is being done in those places. This could not be done with small properties; there is no way, considering the techniques that are being used and the expected results.

The injustices and abuses of power were never seen here. Corruption and crimes were never seen here. Not only that, but this is the only country in the world where no one has disappeared. This is the only country in the world in which the spectacle of the horses charging on the masses has not been seen. We see that spectacle in England and in democratic Europe every day and at all times.

Those sanctuaries of human rights are the sanctuaries of horses; tear gas; cosmonauts; and eager policemen with helmets, sticks, shotguns, and ammunition. There are swords and firetrucks in an endless war between governments and the people.

That is capitalism. How could capitalism otherwise defend itself? How does it overcome the differences it has with the people? It defends itself with force whenever the workers want a better distribution of benefits through a better salary or whenever the students or the peasants claim certain rights.

This country has no assassinations, missing people, or repression. In this country, the people and the people's authority—the state—are closely identified and solidly united. In this country, each citizen can say: I am the state, like the famous king who said he was the state. Workers, peasants, and students may say: I am the state and will defend the state because the state and the people are one, regardless of the state's defects. After all, state officials are not imported; they are from here. Many were young at the start of the revolution. Many who are not very old came, if not from the underground, from the universities, the factories, or the country. Some are better than others, but none are capitalists, large landowners, Yankees, or executives from transnational and foreign enterprises. They are Cubans.

There is now a sense of identity that never existed and can never exist in a class society. There is an identification between the government [el poder] and the citizens; between the state and citizens; between citizens and property, which belongs to the people; between citizens and the factories, which belong to the people; between citizens and the land, which belongs to the people; between the citizens and tractors; between citizens and buses; and between citizens and stores, which belong to the people. If we do not take care of them, that is something else. It proves that we are bad owners. If we do not get from them all we can, this proves that we are inefficient owners. We have increasingly more engineers; more agronomists; and more professionals managing

farms, factories, and the workers. We hope we have the cadres that we did not have before the victory of the revolution. We had men who had only completed fifth or sixth grade and had managed sugar mills at the time. Now we have thousands of engineers in sugar mills alone. We have thousands of engineers in the sugar industry. I see an increasing number directing operations there. I suppose that as engineers gain experience and knowledge, they gain more authority.

Think about and meditate on that total human identity of citizens who have everything because everything belongs to them. Not all citizens can be good owners and use things correctly; not all citizens are patriotic and honest. There are some patriots who are dishonest. I do not know how to explain this. There are some who are willing to die in battle, but who steal money from the funds they manage. We have even heard of those kinds of hypocrisies. We lack culture; we lack many things. We need to know who the really good citizens and good landowners are, but should this mean that socialism does everything wrong?

What about our health services? Our infant mortality rate, which is under 11 percent, is among the best in the world. Life expectancy has improved. We cure diseases that cannot be cured elsewhere. We have made huge advances, and this has not taken place in private hospitals. The Frank Paiz, the Hermanos Almejeira, the Juan Manuel Marquez, and the Centro Havana are not private hospitals. The country's hospitals and health services are not private. Our doctors are not foreign. Here we have struggled and worked, perfected things, and made them efficient. We can say that the capitalists do not have a better health system. Forget it. They envy our health system. Out of 6,000 doctors, capitalists took 3,000 of them. Now we have nearly 40,000 doctors. By July 1991, we will have 43,000 doctors. Look what the revolution has achieved. None of them are unemployed or driving taxis. Maybe a taxi driver earns more money than many of our distinguished doctors or university professors. This is because the taxi driver charges too much. I am not saying that all drivers do so, [repeats] I do not say all do so, but a few do. I have seen these taxi drivers work on farms. They have formed a movement. I have seen them working hard; some work 15 days as taxi drivers and 15 days as farmers. I often ask myself: are they the reason for so many complaints? Taxi drivers refuse to stop at corners. They also carry four passengers, keeping the fares paid by three of them. I am talking about our defects, but our doctors will not drive taxis. I can assure you that health services will keep improving. Our universities have improved. We cannot compare our universities with the capitalist universities. There is simply no comparison with the end product, except for a few very minor problems we still have—battles we have not yet won. There is still fraud in our universities; the battle has not yet been won. What about in capitalist universities? There has always been fraud, but those are universities for the elite. Would anyone dare compare those universities to ours? The same holds true for the number of universities, the equipment, the programs, and the teachings.

There is a university in Moa. How could a young person from Moa attend the university? Not even a geology career existed; I do not know if there was a geologist during capitalist times here and [words indistinct]. [laughter] There is a school of medicine in Tunas. How did this happen when many people did not even know where Tunas was? This is the truth. A university in the Isle of Youth? There was a huge prison on that isle before. There are thousands of students at schools of medicine in each province. There are teaching institutes in each province. There are pharmaceutical schools in several provinces. Ciego has a technological institute, and let me tell you Ciego is a difficult place to find from the highway.

I hear that many things are being done in Holguin. I hear that they have created certain designs and machines and that other things are being created for the canals. On a given day, we will have a branch at the Zapata swamp. [laughter]

Can we compare capitalist higher education to ours? Can we compare their link between research and education to ours? Can we compare our equipment? Can the link they have with all the country's productive activities and the country's services be compared to ours? All our hospitals were turned into teaching hospitals [hospitales docente]. Nearly all polyclinics were turned into schools. The only teaching hospital was Calixto Garcia. The students had the opportunity to work with the people who were sent there to die because there was hardly any medicine there. That is the truth.

Teaching hospitals, polyclinics, and schools in the mountains represent the country's state of health. We cannot compare higher education in capitalist countries to ours. Can we or can we not improve our overall education? The fundamental thing is that our education is geared to the masses. We have not yet been able to attend to the needs of each one of our schools. Despite this, we have many primary schools with a partial-boarding system; we already have this with secondary schools. I can tell you something. Many of the special schools have nothing to envy from any school in the world. Capitalist countries do not have special schools. They do not have a large number of these schools. They do not have as many people committed to these special schools. Rich capitalists can send their children to these schools, and some rich people can give their children the same tests we give the entire population here. Only the rich people can give their children the same vaccines we have for the entire population here.

There was no choice because there was no scientific research. Scientific research centers in this country are a hope for Cuba. They are a hope for our country. We have excellent scientists who are very committed here. We have men and women who could never be paid all the

money in the world. They work in these centers for modest salaries. Look for them in capitalist countries. Look for those who work like our scientists. We are already starting to see results.

[Words indistinct] the imperialists are concerned. What are they doing? We know what we are doing. We know of a few things, but we do not speak about them because we have no interest in doing so. There are times when it is better for them to believe worse things are going on so that they leave us alone.

The revolution has many features with which capitalism cannot compete. The revolution also has many features that must still be improved upon and with which it cannot contend with capitalism. Some of them are important economic issues. It is true, however, that we are learning how to match capitalism.

We certainly must admit that the technological backwardness of the socialist countries has hindered us. We have obtained backward technology in certain fields because we did not have any other choice. We did not have any other alternative. We did not have the resources to obtain any other type of technology. We have advanced technology, however, in some fields. We are working in some new fields with advanced technology. We are producing new products in this country with advanced technology.

We are entering a new phase, but we know what we have. We know what we have. [repeats] We also know what we do not want. We do not want another goal for our people. We must know how to defend the one we have, and we will know how to defend it. I believe that even our powerful neighbors understand this. The United States must tell itself: How difficult it is to dominate [echarse en el bolsillo] this small country. They, who have dominated so many people and countries of all sizes. How difficult it has been for them to try to dominate this country, and they will never dominate it. [applause, chanting of slogans]

You can see for yourselves, in your own lives and by your own personal experience, how a revolutionary country confronts problems. No house has been left without power despite the situation I have explained and despite the fact that we have received three million tons of fuel less this year. All this happened without prior notice. We have not, however, had one single blackout. In theory, we should have many hours of blackout if we do not have enough fuel. I am not sure whether this is so because each person is saving energy.

It is true that all citizens are not the same. It is true that they do not all have the same degree of awareness. We have asked the citizens to save 10 [not further identified]. We have asked the institutions to save another 10. We have reduced the use of electricity without leaving a single home without power.

It is true that some citizens are using a bit more and that some people are irresponsible. The problem has been studied, however, and there is a strategy. If, at a given moment, some people do not comply, we will have no choice but to leave them without power. The guilty people will not force the innocent to pay for their deeds. If there are some stubborn offenders, we will have no choice but to cut off their electricity.

It is hoped that we will never have to adopt more drastic measures. It is hoped that we will be able to reduce 20 [not further identified] if we have to reduce 20. We will always do all we can to conserve power so that the population has some to use. We even prefer to reduce the amount of energy used by factories, reduce our production, or stop it altogether, as we have already closed a big nickel factory. We do not know, however, if we will be forced to reduce 20 or 30 [not further identified] at some future time.

It is hoped that we will do it in the least disturbing manner. If a person knows that he does not have 150 kilowatts available and he has 100....[changes thought] He can decide which light bulb to turn on or which bulb to turn off. The famous power outages are a method used worldwide. They adversely affect everyone but are an inevitable way to save energy. We want to do everything possible to avoid this type of unavoidable energy-saving mechanism. To accomplish this, we need the citizens to cooperate. We have been managing so far.

Despite all these tremendous problems and these terrible blows to our economy, almost no single price has gone up. Any other country would have solved it immediately by doubling and tripling prices and that is it. We have done just the opposite. Things that were once freely sold have now been sold using the coupon book [libreta]. Many workers who were never able to obtain cream cheese or fish and other things now say they are getting them. They are able to buy them at the same prices. It does not mean that prices will remain unchanged. There will be a few products that are sold freely. If we see that alcohol consumption rises.... [changes thought] Actually it is not a matter of earning a profit from alcohol. If hoarders start to work here and there, it is possible that prices will have to go up. It is possible that there will be no other solution except to raise prices. Milk, food, and yogurt prices, as well as those goods available to the general population, has not been touched.

Not a single citizen was left without a job. Not a single youth, adolescent, or child has been left out of school. Not a single school has been closed. The first thing they do elsewhere is to look into the education budget and close down 30 or 40 percent of the schools. Thousands of teachers are left without jobs. They also close down 20 or 30 percent of hospitals and dismiss doctors, nurses, and health workers. We have not dismissed one single employee. We are going to open new polyclinics that are now under construction. We have not initiated the construction of new polyclinics and hospitals, but we are completing them. We are expanding our capabilities.

Not a single factory has been closed because of a lack of fuel or raw materials. Not a single worker has been left unemployed. I ask myself if this happens elsewhere in the world. If the number of days has to be decreased, days are given off. If Friday has to be given off, it is given off, but no worker is dismissed. Not a single retired worker has been left without his pension. Prices have not even increased for the things he needs to buy for his modest retirement. Electricity and the food he buys have not increased in price. Not a single citizen has been left without food.

We have a scarcity of some medicines. We are aware of that and are making an effort. It has happened because of a certain anxiety. Some people have begun to buy more of some products, which are normally adequately available.

We are going to look for ways to avoid excessive purchases and keep the medicine available here. We are looking for the right mechanisms to do this so that anyone who needs insulin can have it. Anyone who needs medicine for his asthma should have it. They should not want to buy a year's supply. Medicine is so cheap. Medicine is sold at 20 percent of the price that is paid anywhere else. Most medicine is given to hospitals and other institutions.

We are going to do everything possible to prevent a lack of medicine and food. That is our greatest task. The food program has been implemented at full strength. It has first priority. We have not ceased the construction of a single dam or canal for an irrigation system. On the contrary, construction has been expanded over the past few months. The construction of dams, irrigation canals, engineering systems in sugar mills, and engineering systems in rice fields has increased. We hope to continue promoting this with three million tons less [of fuel]. We believe it will be maintained. Priority programs are those that are going to produce food for us, those that are going to produce resources for imports, and those that are related to the biotechnology industry and are going to solve problems for us. It can be turned into a source of great revenue for the country. These programs have priority and will continue having priority.

We are now preparing plans for 1991 with these criteria. The general rule is to continue to build the houses already under construction. New houses will not be built unless they are located in productive scientific development centers that merit the construction of houses or in farming enterprises to resolve supply problems. It is not that we do not have enough. We have a tremendous ability to produce cement and other materials. The problem is the fuel supply. We are going to maintain our productivity. We are going to take care of our necessary resources, when we have them. We are going to complete some projects.

The installations for the Pan-American Games are being completed. The investments that were to be made on the Pan-American Games have already been made. All that remains is to complete them. We have to fight for the Pan-American Games because it was a great battle waged by this country, which has been discriminated against so often. It is a battle because it is the country's commitment we must and will fulfill. The installations were built with the people's support. There will be no further expenditures. The expenditures were made when the installations of the Pan-American Games were begun. We did not have the problems we have today. Commitments were made and will be honored. The country must be able to honor its commitments, and we can. Latin American countries trust that we will be able to fulfill our commitments, despite our difficulties. In the first months of 1991, the installations of the Pan-American Games will be completed.

We have strength that can be unleashed [fuerzas que se liberan]. We have constructive strength and now have an extra measure of constructive strength. All the hotels that are being built for tourism have their own labor force. If the hotel plan is expanded, we will use part of that labor force—that is, throughout 1991 we will be able to maximize our efforts even more. We will be able to ration even more.

We will have finished building the distribution markets. In Havana Province, we will have constructed 60 camps in the agriculture sector. Maybe more will have to be built. Perhaps we will be able to do a few more things. The resources available in 1991 must be better optimized than in 1990, keeping track of everything we build and plan to build. We must choose well everything we do. Every effort made and every penny spent must be in the best place possible. We are undergoing special conditions under a special period. We are now working in these areas, however—I repeat, the food industry; the tourism idustry, as a source of income; scientific institutions; biotechnical centers; and pharmaceutical industries—more than ever. We are giving them more support than ever before as we are conscious of our strategic importance.

We will not build a textile factory now. We are forced to reduce the production at textile factories due to the lack of raw materials and supplies. Of course, everyone understands, however, that it is more important to give priority to the food industry—that is, the production of food—than to the textile industry.

We even have to see how long we can go without new textiles if everyone uses what they have in their closets. We can do without some products, but we will not do without milk. I prefer that we have less fabric. If we can give the children uniforms, we will. If we cannot, with deep regret we will have to give up the school uniforms until we can have them again. We will give up the uniforms. It is better to be without uniforms than to be without shoes, milk, food, medicines, books, notebooks, or pencils.

Even during this terrible situation, no one in the nation is unemployed. There are no homeless, no one goes hungry, no one goes without medical attention, and no

one misses the opportunity to go to school. Even during this special period, we can maintain these things.

In 1868 our Mambis did not have any of the foregoing; in 1895 our Mambis did not have them either. Many nations, the majority, in special periods have none of the foregoing. Skyrocketting prices, strikes everyday, hungry people, undernourished people, infant mortality way up around 90 or 100. [as heard] In any of those nations, they die, five, six, 10 times more than the rate in Cuba. I believe that our health will improve. It will continue to improve even during these special times. We are going to have more doctors. Our universities will not be closed, and we will continue to register young men and women in all the higher education centers.

If we place any limit, it will be—as we have said here before—because of the more stringent quality requirements of teacher training institutes. It will be for that reason or because of the scholarship questions. We think it is not right to grant scholarships that surpass our capabilities and create problems such as those at 12th and Malecon and those at 3d and F. I believe...oh, okay [aside to unknown person], at F and 3d, which have forced us to look for almost 200 apartments to ease overcrowding at some of those places, because 200 persons at F and Malecon are simply too many.

A building might be 30 years old, with old elevators that need replacing and with new ones on order. We want to reduce the number of scholarships to 400 or 500 and have better and more bearable living conditions in the buildings. A reserve of about 70 apartments—practically the only apartments the central government has available—will be turned over to youths and the FEU to alter them and end up with about 400 apartments. With the departure of technicians, about 100 apartments have became available in the Bahia neighborhood. There are many things that can be done with these apartments as there is much need, but as we said, there are not enough apartments. Let us make another effort to help out with these scholarships. Some changes have been made, such as uniting schools. We are going to have two pharmaceutical schools. Some of the schools at 12th and Malecon will now be near this scientific center, near the new faculty, and this helps free some additional space over there. These are the only limiting factors we expect to have.

Medical school entries have been curtailed. This year we kept them at the same level because there was some doubt on needs, such as the USSR requirements. We have, however, slowly reduced the number of entries. Many students are now entering pharmaceutical schools instead of medical schools. We expect to keep university entries at more or less the same entry level during this special period. We do not expect to change the number of university entries, except for the reasons I have already mentioned.

We need to encourage self-sufficiency in food production, even if it is only so that people take part. Surely, the mobilization and the measures we are taking in Havana Province will increase food production. We cannot expect city factories and schools to be self-sufficient, but we can try to find 40 or 50 hectares for the CUJAE [Jose Antonio Echeverria University City]. We might need to remove more sugarcane from this province, even though already 500 caballerias of sugarcane have been removed to make room for roots and vegetables. If we are forced to use four or five caballerias near the (Martinez Prieto)—which lives on the sugarcane that comes from more distant locations—then we will do so. I am sure that the sugar industry understands this. Those who work in the sugar industry also understand this. We might use some land near El Chico, which Machadito [not further identfied] mentioned to me. We could find an area, perhaps near the Teaching Institute, near Lenin, from which we can get some land.

What I do see.... [changes thought]. I think that the most important thing is the awareness of the need to make this effort, the awareness of the need to produce food, and the awareness of the need to be self-sufficient. Havana Province has—without counting the city that has several hundred hectares—nearly 40,000 hectares for roots and vegetable production. Barring cyclones and other natural disasters, optimum production is guaranteed. If banana plantations are destroyed, we will replant them all in a matter of months. We have contingency plans in Ciego de Avila and other provinces. We might need to use some additional fuel, but we are trying to make Havana Province and Havana City inhabitants self-sufficient. There are 2.7 million inhabitants, and we plan to fully supply them using the 22,000 hectares of land belonging to state corporations and the approximately 17,000 hectares belonging to cooperatives and individual farmers. We are working in the fields. I believe that during this special period, more food will be produced in this province and in our fields than what is produced during normal times.

In truth, the response at the capital has been excellent. Close to 31 or perhaps 32 contingents are being organized and approximately 10,000 citizens will be mobilized on a biweekly basis. The workers are doing extremely well and morale is high; this is reflected by our capital's workers and citizens. I have spoken with the directors, who I meet with regularly. The first thing I ask them is how are the camps and the workers. They tell me stories about the student brigades who went to the fields in July. If the brigades found no one in July because everybody—mid-level students and workers alike—were on vacation, this year you will find 20,000 workers, whose productivity is approximately equivalent to that of 30,000 workers. This is what you will find when the student brigades reach the fields. You will not see the grassland you saw last year, I assure you. These efforts are under way now.

We are trying to lower the population's sacrifice to a minimum. We will continue this policy so that the people do not lack the essentials. If instead of three, we have four, five, or six million [object not specified]

less.... [changes thought] All of these things will receive priority treatment, I assure you. We will seek a balance between the expenses incurred by the population and the agriculture industry. Maybe the special period will not reach extremes, but it is my duty to warn you of such a possibility. So we should be prepared for such a situation. It is very important for us to have these ideas clear in our minds at this congress. We must keep showing the world what we can do. We must show the world who our youths, students, workers, and people are, and how it is possible to grow up under difficult circumstances.

Capitalism will not be able to proclaim a victory for a long time. It will not be able to. Those who dreamed of Eastern Europe, who believed in the mermaid's song of capitalism, and who thought they could have Paris, London, and Rome overnight without working—apparently this is what they were led to believe—are now going to find out what capitalism really is. We would like to know what these people will think in two, three, or four years. Europe is scared now. After Western Europe tried to destabilize all the Eastern European countries and applauded the crumbling of the walls, they became afraid of a catastrophe. They are now afraid that millions will cross the borders to the West to increase the numbers of unemployed. They are afraid. Now they would like to build a great iron curtain. Now they would like to build a wall from the Baltic to the Mediterranean Sea. They are terrified by the Eastern European countries' and the Soviet Union's terrible economic crises. They were happy, but their happiness did not last long. Now they are beginning to lose. The world has no reason, not even signs of a reason, to feel happy. The economic catastrophe is aggravated by the debt, by the price of feul—which has doubled—and by the evidently unavoidable risk of a catastrophic war—catastrophic not only because of the human losses but because of the riches it would destroy and the economic consequences it would have for the world. This economic crisis could cause a wave of general destabilization and social explosions. Where would they go? They would go anywhere. They can no longer call up the ghost of communism because it has apparently vanished. They can no longer claim that when there is a social change, that it is the work of Marxist subversives or Moscow. They can no longer use those other ghosts as an argument. Now that the ghost of communism has dissapeared, I do not know what pretexts they will use to promote anticommunism or to repress the people when they want to make social changes.

What will Haitians do in Haiti? No one knows, but the Yankees were right there with a candidate. Imperialism had its candidate there. He got approximately 13 or 14 percent of the votes, as far as I know. The priest, however, came close to the people and spoke to them. He was united with the people and got over 70 percent of the votes. There is an example for you. What will happen now? What changes will they make? No one knows. Those countries are so poor and have very few resources. Imagine Haiti with oil at $30 per barrel. Will they be able to build dams and canals? Will they be able to increase their agricultural production per hectare? Where are these countries going? No one knows, but they do not have a better chance with capitalism. Imperialism has nothing to offer the third world countries except more debt, unemployment, hunger, infant mortality, and illiteracy. It has nothing to offer them but disaster.

What could capitalists offer us. Will they give us oil? Will they come to give us billions? Imperialists do not give. They do not give leftovers, not even charity. Look at what they did in Nicaragua. They created a dirty war that cost thousands and now the economic situation is catastrophic. They give nothing. They invaded Panama and massacred it; they have given it nothing. Imperialism never gives anything to any country. It brings war, sends arms, and promotes dirty wars. What could imperialism and capitalism ever give the third world. We see much of it every day. On the other hand, we do know what we can give. We know what we have given ourselves, and we know what we can give ourselves in the future. Our duty is to defend what we have created and keep what we have: our social achievements, security, dignity, and independence. I hope no one doubts that Cuba is the most independent country in the world today. [applause] It is the most independent country in the world.

This tremendous crisis and enormous danger looms above our views regarding imperialism that have been demonstrated at the UN Security Council. Without exception, we have condemned what must be condemned and fought what must be fought. At times, we have been all alone. At other times, we have been joined by certain nations. Cuba, however, has fought the battle for peace at the United Nations. Cuba—and this is no exaggeration—has been the most responsible country. It has waged the strongest battle for peace at the United Nations. At times, the five permanent members have been on one side while only we were on the other side. You have no idea what this means for Cuba in terms of prestige.

Many representatives of other countries have approached our representative to congratulate him and tell him: You people are doing what we cannot do. You people are doing what must be done. Some of them have expressed their regret for not being able to do what Cuba did. Our country is also experiencing difficulties, is isolated, and is in a special period. We knew well what a change of vote for this war announced in the most recent resolution could entail. We knew it. Not a few representatives spoke to us about this issue. This is, however, a country of principles. This country does not and will never betray a single principle. At a time that some described as exceptional, how much would some have given for having Cuba vote yes on this resolution. Without prejudice, we managed to weigh the consequences. We did it based on principles, not on an anti-Yankee spirit. We condemned the invasion of Kuwait. It is true that the Yankees condemned it also. When a resolution on annexation was introduced, we

backed it. When a resolution on the hostages was introduced, we supported it. When a resolution on a blockade including food and medicines was introduced, we opposed it. When the unilateral U.S. naval blockade was authorized—the blockade had already been imposed—we voted against it. When this shameful and embarrassing resolution was introduced, we voted against it. Another country joined us in the vote. I know of two countries which abstained. This is very significant. The PRC abstained. I think the other one either voted no or abstained. Mexico and Cuba voted against it. Excuse me, I was recalling other resolutions that have been presented in the past few weeks. These resolutions were supported by Colombia, Yemen, and Malaysia. The United States wanted to delay a particular resolution and has continued to delay it because it aims at protecting Palestinians and the occupied territories. The Palestinians are being repressed and murdered. The United States wanted to keep postponing this resolution.

These four countries voted against this postponement and the use of parliamentarian procedure as an instrument, but France and the PRC abstained. In this case there were two countries that abstained from voting for this resolution: France and the PRC. You cannot imagine how the world has admired Cuba's stance—a responsible and principled stance, not an anti-Yankee one. They say we voted against them because we voted against this resolution. We voted against a resolution because it is wrong, mistaken, and will lead to war. We can see how a country like Cuba, with such problems, can have such dignified and correct policies. The world recognizes and respects this. I ask myself how many countries in the world are able to do this today? What countries—which are experiencing such adverse conditions or such an economic crisis or have as much power as the imperialists—are able to follow a line of principles the way Cuba has. These are some of the things we are unwilling to give up. We shall never give them up.

Comrades, I believe this congress has been exemplary. One of the things that pleased me the most was the first day when you were discussing what you were doing for the special period. I was able to see the level of awareness the students had in connection with the special period by your outlines and proposals and how seriously they were delivered. This was truly impressive. I recall the previous congress. Times were different then, but future problems could already be seen. There was confusion. Do not forget that there were various schools of thought in Cuba. There was much confusion. Do not forget there were people who wanted things from abroad and who began campaiging against socialism and Marxism Leninism as an excuse to improve the system. Marvelous.

If you have a sick child, you do not begin by cutting his throat to save his life, improve his condition, or cure him. Those people's intentions were clear. You have no idea of how far the enemy went in those countries and in the USSR. You have no idea of the extent of the CIA infiltration in the USSR. You have no idea of how long they worked with certain groups. The situation was so bad that the worst revolutionaries—the Giron worms and mercenaries: the most recalcitrant enemies of Cuba who have committed all sorts of crimes against the country—received publicity. They received full coverage. No one would have believed such a thing. You have no idea of the extent of their infiltration to the detriment of the Soviet people and the Soviet Communists. It was a destructive campaign.

Let us not forget that some of them were somewhat influential here. The facts are the facts, however, and the catastrophic things that have happened have opened many people's eyes. Many have observed the process that is under way in our country and the efforts that we are making to perfect our socialism, which has not made the very serious mistakes that have been made elsewhere.

We had the honor of welcoming Comrade Gorbachev right at this assembly. I explained and said very clearly that the phenomenon of Stalinism did not take place here. I added: In case I am regarded as a sort of Stalin, my victims enjoy excellent health. [applause] There are historic differences here. I said: We must correct our mistakes, not the mistakes made by the Soviet Union. If you have a corn, you do not go to the ophthalmologist to have your tooth pulled out. We did not have to correct those mistakes here. That is, we must correct our own errors. These we must correct. Mistakes have been made here. Imagine what would happen if we were to apply here—to the letter—all of the formulas used in the USSR.

It was our fault, however; of course it was. For a period of time, we had the negative attitude of glorifying everything that came from the USSR. Anything that came from there was perfect; it was nothing but the best. Look, I am a great admirer of the revolutionary events that took place in that country. I admire its people's historic feats and heroism. I have always felt gratitude for the 20 million men and women who died during the revolutionary process. I am also aware, however, of their political, historic, strategic, and military errors. I do not have to stand in a corner talking about them. I have discussed this with Soviet officials. I always support constructive criticism of the Soviet Union.

I have said: we now have the evil of the Holy Spirit. It is the Holy Spirit. We have studied something about the church. There is the mystery of the Holy Trinity. I am not trying to offend the churches or the churchgoers, but I was taught that the mystery of the Holy Trinity exists. I was taught that there is a Father, a Son, and a Holy Spirit. Furthermore, I was taught that the Holy Spirit cannot make mistakes.

We transformed everything about the USSR into a sort of Holy Spirit. So when publications with a clear anti-communist and antisocialist leaning started to arrive from the USSR and when horrible things were said about communism and socialism, we accepted them as irrefutable truths.

That is why I say it is our fault because the evil comes from the Holy Spirit. Who would doubt the Holy Spirit if it began to talk and talk? This is how the propaganda was passed to us, and it definitely confused some people. This must be said. The truth is the truth. I do not want to offend anybody. I do not want to hurt anybody. I am glad many people have corrected their attitude and that many have understood what really happened. It is a phenomenon that did occur, however, and that made some people here believe that we had to correct errors we had not made.

This was the greatest paradox in the world. The Western world was constantly saying that we were a Soviet satellite. They said this every day. The Yankees even said that we had to break off from the USSR if we wanted the blockade to end. They repeated this thousands of times. They demanded that we end our relations with the USSR. Their theme song was: You are satellites. You are common satellites; but we stayed on our path. Whoever has read the letters that Kruschev and I exchanged during the October crisis surely knows and understands that this country was never a satellite. Never. [applause] I know of leading U.S. personalities who were actors in that crisis. These men today say that they did not even imagine the existence of this correspondence and that they had truly underestimated Cuba. They say that today in amazement and with admiration. We did not publish this for its own sake. These things could have remained unpublished for a long time. Memoirs and books began to appear, however, saying that we had recommended a preemptive strike. They spread this rumor throughout the world.

We had no alternative but to publish the letters so that everyone would know how it had been. Perhaps, however, the main point of the worldwide aggressive imperialist campaign against Cuba is that it was a satellite. That was what they accused us of. Do you know what they are accusing us of now? It is incredible: that we are not doing what they are doing over there.

In the first place, in the first place [repeats], we do not have to rectify here mistakes they made there. In the second place, the mistakes we have made, including copying some of the things we copied....[changes thought] That was one of the mistakes we had to rectify. Yes, sir. Very good. We still have many things to do.

The problem now is not to theorize. The problem is to progress, resist, survive, overcome. Then we will have (?things to achieve) and we will have things to prioritize. It is ridiculous today, really, to assume the poses of doctrinaire thinkers, when there are many concrete things to do and it is a question of the country's and the revolution's survival.

We will, however, go looking for our formulas. We cannot fall again into those circumstances, in those concepts and methods of managing the economy, through which the factories were closed to our university students. Ah, people say that there are 200 teaching factories. Why? Because there is no factory where they say foolish things like that they will not take in students because it does not do them any good because it harms their record and things.

It is incredible that in a socialist country where the people are the owners of the means of production, the university students could not go and practice in a factory. They began to behave like vulgar and indecent capitalists. They said: No, I do not want students here; students get in my way. This is a bad arrangement. I ask myself if we can talk about socialism and say that students get in the way at factories. We are falling into that shoddy capitalism.

What no one has stopped to ask yet, no one in this whole process of restructuring and criticizing socialism, is how great an effect this had on the problems the socialist countries got themselves into—those ideas, that playing along with capitalism, that shoddy capitalism. We were left speechless when in a meeting they said: No, we do not admit students. Could a system, a society like that be good for anything? One that closes the doors to those who have to take the place of that labor force? One that closes the doors to the technological schools?

Now I tell you, take the enterprises.... [changes thought] I was saying today to the comrades here from the Havana ISCA [Higher Institute for Agricultural-Livestock Sciences], [words indistinct] there and take this, we will give you the eight enterprises. Go there and help. Tell me what they can study so that the entire department goes there, bringing their judgement, their technical contributions, observing.

A society with that... [rephrases] that cannot do that is not socialist. It is crazy, full of contradictions. Today we have even fallen into that. [Words indistinct] has not yet been resolved, and great progress is being made in practice, and we will have conclude in our management system. [Words indistinct] the economy, and that not everything is bonuses and things, as was thought here. Because there are no hospitals that give bonuses, and I remember that situation we had in 1985 and what resulted from the work in the hospitals, work by the party, by the government. The number of complaints there were because the problems began to affect service, and they began to affect health, they began to affect many things.

All that trash inherent in that system of management and planning has not been changed through laws. I compared it to a horse covered with sores over which you had to run your hand, but anyway, suddenly the horse could not go where it wanted to. That horse had to go where it was led. There is work to do on the practical level, on the theoretical level. We are very aware of that.

This is not the time, because in a special period, what can we do? Are we going to apply a criterion of profitability? For example, a factory at which we have to take away two of its working days per week, or a factory at which we send the workers out on the street. What criterion can

we apply? Will costs rise? Yes. Will there be a lot of money [in circulation]? Yes. It is inevitable in a special period. An abundance of money has its drawbacks, but we know this.

Now, we are not going to apply the policy of the capitalist countries: everyone out on the street, raise all the prices. That would simply be lunacy. That is why I was telling you about the methods we use during a special period, and we know about the drawbacks. Some day we will have products to answer to that excess money the populace receives. At least if we ration the products and guarantee to the populace the greatest amount of food and manufactured products possible, we will not get those terrible inflation rates.

What we will have is excess money in the hands of the populace, but we have not by any means lost the hope that one day our country will find the resources to answer to this. We know how much we have to spend in foreign currency to obtain $10 or $20 or $30. We know the people's tastes, what they buy, what they do with their money. We are not afraid. I advise you, save it. Save it. [repeats] The country has not lost the hope, not by any means—if some of the things we are doing go the way we hope they will. I tell you this. Well, there is an example.

In this special period, we cannot sit and theorize. In this special period we must follow a policy, certain principles, especially principle number one. Principle number one of all principles is consideration for the people, concern for the people, not sacrificing the people, preserving at any cost the people's essential things. This is not something for theoreticians. This is not something for technocrats. If we get 10 technocrats like that they will sink the country in a special period and in a normal period. This is something for politicians. This is something for revolutionary politicians. This is something for revolutionaries. [applause]

These are the principles that must govern here. I invite our professors of Marxism-Leninism, economy, all of them, I invite them really with great pleasure to think, to reflect, to help in working out ideas, so that we can start from these realities and think, in order to then find our own theories, our own methods. When the special period is overcome, when the country returns to normal, the country will have resources and especially, especially, [repeats] what we are fighting for. We will not stop fighting. The day will come when the country will be economically independent, economically independent. [repeats] [applause]

Let us work for this. Let us fight for this because we can fight for this, and this is clearer than ever now. The need to do so is clearer than ever, and the possibility of doing so is clearer than ever. We have possibilities of achieving this not only because of the qualities of our people, but because of the fruits of what we have done in these years, because of what our universities have produced.

I meet them places; I have a lot of contacts with scientists. I meet with comrades who a short time ago were members of the Union of Young Communists, many who were born with the revolution and after the revolution, or who were children when the revolution triumphed. You cannot imagine how many values we have created, the strength we have. As I explained a few days ago at the spare parts forum.... [changes thought] A forum that was the result of the work of tens of thousands of (?technicians, engineers,) skilled workers. They are doing great things, they are working with great fervor.

You cannot imagine what strength we have and how problems are being solved. Some of them have found innovations or discoveries that will have universal value. Some of the innovations are going to revolutionize the ways soil is prepared, the historical ways, the age-old ways. No one knows how much it is worth to have the talent our country has accumulated today. No one knows how much it is worth to have the tens of thousands of scientists, how hard they are working, with so much dedication, with so much devotion, and what results they are obtaining.

Our country is becoming a scientific power in those fields we can master and in those we can work—a scientific power, which will be devoted in the special period to the problems of the special period. It will be devoted to whatever will help the country pass through the special period, and whatever will help the country to attain economic independence. I can tell you that although the lack of oil in our soil is a great disadvantage—it is a tragedy that we are lacking oil—I tell you that I would never exchange the great amount of talent that has accumulated in our country for the enormous oil surpluses some countries have. [applause] Yes.

They are the results of our educational efforts, our universities. What a spirit they are working with! Sometimes I have seen people so dedicated, as they are dedicated. There is a growing scientific explosion. That is why we are not yet even satisfied with how we are using the talents at our universities. We are in contact with all the groups that have appeared in the departments of chemistry or other places, that have been doing research. We have given them every support immediately. We seek them out; we do not wait for them to seek us out. We go around investigating them.

We propose to use our scientific potential at the universities, the University of Havana—well, we are using it; that is the one that has the most research centers—the Central University of Villa Clara, in areas such as chemistry, chemical synthesis, agriculture, in all those fields; Ciego de Avila, also in other similar fields; Camaguey; Santiago de Cuba. We are willing to give a great boost to all the universities. We are willing to give a great boost to the scientific work of the universities.

This is a top priority in the special period. Do not be surprised if a factory appears at any university, a laboratory, or a research center. Sometimes we are building

the centers, but we have already created the group that is already working and has a laboratory. Laboratories are going to go up in many places before the research centers go up. Of course we are going to empower all these scientific capabilities, the capabilities of our innovators, rationalizers, inventers. It is a tremendous strength, but the universities have to be in the vanguard.

We can work and do research in all fields, not only in science but also in literature or economy. We are trying to have contacts students of economy to see what their role can be at this stage, at this time; that is, in what direction they can carry out they research. This scientific explosion is occurring, however. Many people in the world are beginning to recognize this.

I want to tell you, comrades, not to waste one minute. Sometimes not even 24 hours go by from the time that in a laboratory someplace, at a university or a research center, they have discovered something and the time in which the decision is made to build a pilot plant. While the pilot plant is being built as quickly as possible, factories are being designed.

I can tell you that feverish activity is going on in this field, but we do not want to give it a lot of publicity. It is better not....[changes thought] Although I know there are things that would encourage people, it is better for us to be encouraged based on other things and not to talk every day about the things we are doing in order to raise the people's morale. We do not need that. We must work seriously, responsibly, as we should at this time.

We will not forget the universities in this entire effort. We had been doing some work. We had succeeded in getter the famous CUJAE [Jose Antonio Echeverria University City] off the ground. Now it has a different name. It is impossible to remeber so many letters. ISPJAE [Jose Antonio Echeverria Higher Polytechnical Institute] Well, I have become accustomed to it that way. There is the famous ISCA [Higher Institute for Agricultural-Livestock Sciences] where we had organized two contingents. We heard about Bayamo, and we are organizing a contingent there. Likewise, we worked on all the things that had been left unfinished at the universities.

In the meeting with the students, we proposed a program, but I warned them. I told them, well—this was toward the middle of the year—the situation is not yet very difficult, but we see symptoms that may complicate things. So I must tell you in all honesty about the program we have done, and we did a good job to complete all the construction works. In fact, later, [words indistinct] had to limit that. From a program [words indistinct] but in we are not going to forget the universities' needs the special period.

We do not want to halt the ISPJAE. Maybe not at the same pace, maybe not at the same volume, but continuing with a good construction force, finish the project. We do not forget the other one that is out there, the PPG, is that not it? [laughter, applause] Oh, dear. What is it? Does it end with a P? [Audience answers: (?PTP)] I had a piece of paper here, now I no longer have it. There is the contingent that, well, you are going to work. Very good, very good. [applause]

We will see what materials, we will see what materials, [repeats] what resources we will find for you so that you can continue to work. Above all, we will keep in mind the most critical areas, and we are not going to forget them. I assure you that we will not forget as long as we have something to give, in all the most critical places. It could very well happen that laboratories will start to go up over there. They are outside the reckoning because they belong to the top priorities of the special period.

We will soon begin to build a laboratory in the interior as quickly as possible and other things. Soon in Ciego [de Avila], we will begin to build some things that are not in these programs but that belong to the scientific-technical program and the accelerated development to apply all these things. I am not talking about those. Those are a priority day and night, at any time. I am talking about all those projects that are a disgrace because of how long they have been left undone, and we had managed to organize forces to push them.

We will keep in mind all those that are in critical situations, so that the work we are doing in the different places will not come to a halt, although it may be on a smaller scale. There are some that already have been started. If there are some that are not reasonable to do then, we will not start them. All those that are being done and are critical, we will continue to do them in accordance with our capabilities but with a very rational criterion. We will go on completing construction goals, using construction goals. If they are going to finish their student dormitory or whatever thing they are going to use, a workshop or whatever, we will finish it. We will not begin many new construction goals, but go along beginning one and finishing it, beginning one and finishing it, and finishing them quickly.

We propose to follow this policy. Not even in a special period are we going give up completing some of these critical things. In other [words indistinct] a lot, especially the factories are all at the disposal of the students. The state enterprises are all at the disposal of the students as study facilities. So we have obtained a lot, and perhaps we will have more things in the special period than we had before the special period.

In the special period we can even rationalize many things, things that in a normal period are difficult to rationalize, resources that are difficult to optimize. Because there are commitments, because there are circumstances like these, resources can be optimized more and they can be rationalized.

The students, what can I tell you? What can I say to our guests who have seen students like you, who have listened to you discuss with the seriousness with which you have discussed, with the freedom with which you have discussed. There were tough moments, there was controversy, there was bitterness, but this is not what we should

stress. This is not what we should underscore because we have much more important problems to discuss. We have much more important problems to solve.

Practically all decisions were made by consensus. At least according to the views of the majority of the comrades attending the congress. You have been self-critical. You have been very honest in the self-criticism regarding the fraud matter. It is a complex phenomena. We have to pay a lot of attention to it. I really liked the spirit with which you discussed it and, above all, principles that were defended and the fact that it was strongly stated that this was a very important matter, that it was an ethical matter.

This is evidence that many things are yet to be done and that we still have battles to win. Our dreams, the dreams of our people, is to count with more and more responsible students, more and more honest students. We still have problems. The sense of property and respect for property is a weak point. Many times we find those phenomena in secondary, pre-university, and technological schools. Unfortunately, there are families who still do not join the revolution in the fight for honesty, for the respect of social property, for the ethics each human being should have, for the self-respect each human being should feel. We have those problems. We have problems with stealing. You know this. It is a battle that has to be waged; a new type of culture needs to be acquired.

The importance of pedagogic centers, the work of teachers and professors were stressed here. One of the basic tasks of our professors and teachers is to shape those values, to teach those values. That needs to be part of culture, part of education, an essential part of education. This is why someone said—I do not know if it was Jose de la Luz y Caballero who said: Anyone can teach, but only he who is a living gospel can educate. It is not only a matter of teaching history, mathematics, physics, geography, but ethical feelings need to be instilled in children and adolescents.

The entire population needs to be taught. This is one of the battles of human society and is one of the battles par excellence of socialism. We are not talking about capitalism. When in hell is capitalism ever going to win the battle against stealing? In socialism, where the goods that are produced are for the people and everything is of the people, we have to learn not to steal from each other.

This is as if you stole in your own home. Sometimes there are some who steal in their own house. There are people who steal from their brother [chuckles], cousin, or any other. This is a matter of culture and one of the historic tasks the revolution expects of our teaching centers, professors, and teachers.

Fraud is like stealing. Who are we fooling? We begin by fooling ourselves when we think we have a degree, and we know that we do not have it. We are deceiving society. Imagine a doctor who is committing fraud. He can prescribe anything and kill a citizen. There was one who said a terrible thing about the people from Cienfuegos. Those people have to work in important plants. Maybe one of them has to work in a nuclear plant. Imagine someone who committed fraud, fraudulent technicians or engineers who then go to work in one of those big plants, at a chemical complex, or at a nuclear plant. Who is he going to fool? What does he gain with that?

It is also very sad for a young man who studied, applied himself, was admitted to the university, and then does one of those foolish things.

We have to meditate and think about this. Anything is better than that. We have not overcome this. We have to be aware of our limitations. We have not been able to overcome it. We have not been able to create a combative consciousness. There is still pity, sympathy. A lot can be thought about that. It is a subject that we need to continue analyzing with the FEU, with the FEU leadership, with the university leadership, with the councils. There are problems. Yesterday we said we need to continue discussing the placement matter and that we should meet in January to analyze the issues we did not have enough time to analyze. We need to continue studying, analyzing, and looking into the causes and problems of fraud. We need to do things that do not promote dishonesty. If we have to review some rules, we will to prevent someone from making up a lie because he perhaps went out one day and said he was doing something else.

We are going to study all those things. There is an advantage here comrades, there is an advantage. [Words indistinct] government or yours. What we have done and have always done—even more so lately—that as the weight of the universities grows, we work together more. What we do is work together. We have said that power and people, the state and people are the same thing. We have no interests that are different from yours, and you do not have any interests that are different from ours. We still have little things that we still have to eliminate. What is this that those from Palma vote for people from Palma to place someone. I did not know that we had those ethnic problems here. [chuckles] Now it turns out that the ethnic group from Palma has interests that clash with the interests of the ethnic group from Mayarit, or the ethnic group from Mayarit with the ones from Moa. We should be ashamed that we are solving the problems in this way and that we make the placements according to this. An elementary sense of justice should make us act in a different way. If the one with the merits is the one from the other town, even if it is smaller and has less votes, that young man should have the right he deserves because of his merits.

What we do is to work together like we do with the workers, with the scientists, and peasants. What we do is to work together. It is not a matter of me meeting with you or other leaders meeting with you. It is a matter of working together and finding the solution to the problems together. We have to tell our visitors that it is not a matter of having demagogues who come to tell pleasant things to students or that come to trick students with

stories. What we do is to inform students, tell the truth to students, and work with students. [We meet with] students, beginning with the Pioneers in primary schools, the FEM [Federation of Secondary School Students] members, and the technological school students—we also meet with technological school students, and preuniversity and university students. What we do is to work with students. It is not that we meet, not that we mean to honor—as it happens around there—students by greeting them, but we work with students. We look for solutions together with students.

This is why the state, the party, and the government work with the FEU, with the leaders and the masses. Sometimes one has to go to a university school to look at problems, and there is the fraud problem. A few days ago I visited.... [changes thought] I could not even go in. Something happened. I did not have a lot of time but I went to see the things related to these scientific and development programs and the factory we are building and the transfer of the Pharmacy Sciences School over there and everything else. I had talked to the deans and wanted to converse with the students about what we were doing.

So whatever we do, good or bad, will be the result of our joint work. Our successes or mistakes will be the result of joint work. It is on that basis and those principles that our relations have always developed. This is why we have students involved in everything. It is not a mystery. This is our revolution, our state, our government, our fatherland. This is why you defend it with weapons on hand. This is why you are organized in battalions. This is why you train.

We invite the democrats of the world, quote unquote—those who believe that democracy is something else, that it is to hit laborers with sticks everyday and use horses and tear gas on them, those who think that democracy is to repress students—to work with students. We invite them to arm students, organize them in battalions, and train them. So that they are even more democratic, they should organize laborers, train and arm them. They should turn the defense of the country into a task for all the people. This is why there is nothing strange. We are defending a common thing, common interests.

This is why students are at the forefront in defense. This is why they are at the forefront in the demonstrations in support of the revolution. This is why there are in the forefront in the struggle, in the revolutionary consciousness, in the ideological struggle. This is why students are mobilized in the summer and go to the countryside to produce food. This is why we have the best students in the world. This is why students stand next to the laborers, workers in general, and the peasants as a solid and incorruptible bastion of the revolution.

This is why we have here the Mellas, the Jose Antonios, the Fructuosos, the Frank Pais, who are not struggling now for a hope but struggling for a reality and to make that reality better and more beautiful. We have the martyrs of yesterday in men and women in the flesh defending their work, defending their revolution. This is why it is not an image when one says: Here are the Mellas, the Jose Antonios. [applause] Here are the Mambises of 1868 and 1895. Here are the young people from the Moncada and the Granma, of Giron, and the October crisis. Here we are the old and the new ones defending a common work, a work that is worth defending, a work for which it is worth giving one's life.

This is why, more proud than ever, we can repeat today: Socialism or death! [crowd joins in, applauds] Fatherland or death, we will win! [prolonged applause]

Castro Comments on 'Self Sufficiency'

PA2812032690

[Editorial Report] Havana Rebelde Radio and Television Networks in Spanish at 2055 GMT on 27 December begin live coverage of the afternoon meeting of the second day of the eighth session of the National Assembly of the People's Government, ANPP, from the Palace of Conventions in Havana.

During the afternoon session, President Fidel Castro and the delegates discuss several topics, including agricultural self-sufficiency. At approximately 2111 GMT, in commenting on the issue of self-sufficiency, Castro refers to an article he read in which the writer suggests that some land used to produce sugarcane be used to raise sheep. Castro says: "Great, the cooperative will eat much more lamb while the Camilo Cienfuegos Sugar Mill will have less harvesting days." Castro continues to say that he had someone look into this and found that: "The Ministry of Agriculture and MINAZ [Ministry of the Sugar Industry] had appointed a commission and had talked with the ISCAH [Higher Institute of Agricultural and Animal Sciences of Havana]. They made the necessary recommendations so that instead of producing 40,000 arrobas [one arroba is equivalent to 25 pounds], they could produce 80,000 arrobas. What the reporter was already writing about and defending was the reduction of 15 caballerias to be given to the production of livestock. That is chaos; that is anarchy. You cannot work like that; you cannot make progress like that. All you create is disorder.

"The same applies to sugarcane. Everyone here knows how a caballeria of corn is planted, but I would dare to guess what would happen if we took one caballeria of corn to produce sugarcane or one caballeria of sugarcane to produce corn. Therefore, sometimes when we think we are doing good things, we are really making big mistakes. We are eliminating sugarcane and increasing self-sufficiency. We are not talking about the self-sufficiency of the schools or hospitals or the self-sufficiency of the students in rural schools that do not have very good food. I am referring to the rural areas; I have visited those schools in the rural areas and I have seen what they have—I wish their food were better. If instead of using our supplies and looking for more money to improve the food of the children and youths

who attend the rural schools, secondary school students, we were to promote self-sufficiency, then we would get nowhere and this would not be fair.

"On several occasions I have gotten into a helicopter and flown over Havana. I fly over the city and look at it from the air. I have seen tremendous rice plantations—the Havana sugar plantations. I am talking about 10 caballerias. I saw this in November. Yet the sugar mill had very little cane to mill. We never know when the rice is harvested, the land rotated, and the sugarcane planted. I promoted self-sufficiency in the area of sugarcane and in other areas. We cannot think about an agro-industrial complex that will only plant sugarcane. The workers' tubercules, vegetables, and other food must be ensured; however, if you allow them, they will plant the land with grass to raise sheep and other things to feed themselves, the family, and the rest of the people, and they will forget the country's economy.

"I have been the No. 1 defender of self-sufficiency, but I am also the one who is most concerned about how the idea of self-sufficiency is used."

Reportage on 27 Dec ANPP Morning Meeting

PA2712190290

[Editorial Report] Havana Rebelde Radio and Television Networks in Spanish at 1400 GMT on 27 December begin carrying live the second day of sessions of the National Assembly of the People's Government [ANPP]. Before the session is formally opened, the station announcer says that Commander Fidel Castro is in attendance and that he "has already occupied his seat."

ANPP President Juan Escalona opens the session by reading the agenda for today's discussions and by providing information on the ANPP quorum for today's session. Escalona goes on to say that today's session will first examine the pig production program in Cuba. Escalona invites the deputies wishing to make a statement on this issue to participate in the discussions.

At 1403 GMT, the formal discussions on the pig production program begin with the participation of various deputies who explain the progress made in various pig farms throughout the country, as well as the main problems that the pig- raising program has faced. The various deputies state that the main problem on the farms is the production of pig food. The deputies explained that there are currently many difficulties in obtaining fish residues to feed the pigs. The deputies discussed the production of tilapia, whose residues are fed to pigs in Cuba.

At 1420 GMT, President Fidel Castro asks for the floor and begins speaking. Castro discusses tilapia production in Cuba and the way it is sold and distributed to the Cuban population. Castro explains that there are better ways to sell tilapia, thus allowing for an increased amount of tilapia residues to be fed to the pigs. Castro says: "This year we have produced approximately 22,000 tons of tilapia, and we will try to double that production by 1992." Castro goes on discussing the way in which tilapia should be eaten and distributed. At 1428 GMT, Castro says: "What our comrade deputy said earlier is true. There has been a decrease in the production of tilapia residues that are fed to our pigs."

While talking about the country's plan to double the production of pigs, Castro says that one of the country's main problems is "indeed" pig raising. He reports that the issue was been discussed "in two consecutive sessions of the Council of Ministers Executive Committee." Castro says: "We are making a tremendous constructive effort to put together a plan to double our pig production. We have found all kinds of things in the studies we have conducted. We discovered other problems that have affected us to a lesser extent. There are subjective and objective difficulties. The objective difficulties include problems with the supplies we were expecting to receive and that we never received. Suddenly we faced a situation when there were a number of ships scheduled to arrive in Cuba almost at the beginning of this year, and we were left waiting for them. [Words indistinct] in a lot of food, because pigs live on three things: Piglets and sows live basically on fodder, because we cannot give them stewlike animal feed [sancocho] or that sort of thing. Pigs live on protein molasses, which is a product we prepare here. It is based on enriched molasses and a fermentation product. Finally, pigs live on waste.

"As a result of this [word indistinct] and of the lack of supplies that never came or came late, the pig production program suffered [words indistinct]. We got neither corn nor soy. [Sentence indistinct]. We had problems in transporting some of these raw materials. We had problems in producing protein molasses. These problems were linked to the.... [changes thought] We had to change all the factories. The factory for liquid yeast, an item we produced and exported, was turned into a plant to produce protein molasses. Other plants were even turned into factories for liquid fodder. We had these difficulties. This is not so bad since we are using nine or 10 factories to produce liquid fodder for pigs.

"We have also had subjective problems in the production of pigs. We had organizational, labor, and sanitary deficiencies. Pig mortality increased due to a series of problems, including the fact that sows killed their piglets. This was the case until we invented procedures and [word indistinct] to protect the piglets. We had a high pig mortality rate. We have faced a number of difficulties in pig production, including robbery of pigs, poultry, and cattle."

At 1444 GMT, Castro concludes his statement and the ANPP discussions on pig production continue.

At 1527 GMT, Fidel Castro takes the floor again and begins to speak on the topic of pork production. After noting over "400,000 tons of grain" are consumed in this sector, he goes on to report the efforts made to replace corn for sorghum did not yield the expected results and

so more efficient means are being undertaken to feed hogs, including the use of liquid feed.

At 1532 GMT, after listing all the products used to feed animals, Castro states: "I must add something else. We traditionally received supplies of all these products, but sometimes they did not arrive and we had to rush to obtain them elsewhere by any means, since the awaited products did not arrive. This situation is related to the international problems we are aware of. Some of the raw materials come from the USSR. Sometimes, there were three-month delays. Sometimes.... [changes thought] I want you to know we are still awaiting the grain for the last quarter of this year. "All of a sudden, the country is left without [words indistinct]. It is said the supplies are coming, but they do not arrive. This forces us to undertake a number of efforts and make cuts, and to search for markets and ships. I want you to know that a large amount of those supplies came in Soviet ships. All of a sudden, these ships have to cope with all sorts of problems. In essence, my view is to increase or duplicate the production of liquid yeast without increasing grain imports."

Commenting on the distribution of food, Castro states: "I am constantly preaching and advocating that the distribution of all resources should be considered." He warns that the distribution of resources should not be at the expense of the "little meat that reaches the people, which is the meat produced by the pork plan."

At 1543 GMT, Castro notes that all aspects of pork production have been studied, adding that a meeting was held with all the persons in charge of pork production in all the provinces, as well as with the personnel of the genetic research center, to analyze the sanitary conditions, technological problems, and what to do to reduce mortality rates at the pork centers. He goes on to mention the physical improvement in all of the country's pork production centers. He says 30 totally new centers have been built. The problem in handling the feed is that "a great deal of food gets wasted," he remarks. Castro states that in late 1991, 50 more pork centers will have been built, and the problem will be to "get them to work at maximum efficiency." At 1548, he states: "We must not forget for one minute the harsh and difficult conditions under which we are working. [Words indistinct] subjective problems. We get on top of the subjective problems. We would not think of executing people for errors made. The ANPP has not given us that authority, however. [Words indistinct] to execute people for their errors, and must never give it to us not just out of theoretical and philosophical considerations and the like, but also because we may end up with very few people." Laughter is heard among the deputies.

At 1554 GMT, Castro says regarding pork production that "this is one of the fields that has done poorly, maybe the worst, because of all these factors, which include subjective problems." He then states this is one of the "most complex" areas. Castro attributes problems to the rush to fulfill established goals. "In fact, our comrades argued—and admitted one of their faults was—that by comitting themselves to an important construction plan, say to build 20 centers, they really overlooked the handling of [word indistinct]. By trying to do one thing, they overlooked two other things."

Continuing to discuss pork production, Castro states: "We observed that every year there were lots of pigs at the end of the year and few at the beginning of the year. We said: That cannot be. We must preserve most of the pigs. They must grow and reach 85, 90 [measurement not specified] or whatever, instead of there being more meat at the end of December and no meat in January and February. We categorically ordered a general amnesty in the pork plan for all those hogs that did not reach the correct weight." He adds: "That is how we have saved the hogs' lives this December and they will share the end of the year with us. [applause] About 150,000 or 200,000 hogs will not be killed."

Castro concludes his remarks at 1558 GMT. At 1602, he asks the agriculture minister to report on pork production plans, "which have had problems." He adds that sometimes these plants have lacked the needed raw materials. Based on recommendations by a European industrialist "friend of ours," Castro states the production at liquid yeast plants could increase "without major investments."

At 1610 GMT, ANPP President Escalona announces there will be a 30-minute recess, and the live relay ends.

Progreso Reports on 27 Dec Assembly Session

FL2712194590 Havana Radio Progreso Network in Spanish at 1725 GMT 27 Dec 90

[Passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] The second working day of the last session for this year of the National Assembly of the Peoples' Government [ANPP] is taking place. The main topic of discussion and analysis is the food and agriculture plan. As approved yesterday, the agenda calls for the discussion of this matter during the first two days of the Cuban parliament meetings taking place.

This morning, the delegates talked about the swine plan that, according to its development plan, should produce 194,000 tons of pork on the hoof by 1994. This would double the output of 1988. Those presented reiterated that the feed base constitutes the decisive factor in the development of the national swine plan, which was discussed in several speaking turns taken by delegates and invited experts who underlined the need to invigorate the current work in swine feed.

In several moments of the debates, Comrade Fidel Castro, president of the Councils of State and Ministers, said:

[Castro] "There have been a number of difficulties in the swine program. Among them there is one called stealing.

It is the phenomena of stealing swine, poultry, cattle, and illegal slaughter of animals. Vandals take a milk cow, tie it up, and put her into a truck. This criminal activity has been present."

The commander in chief added:

[Castro] "This requires a very close check. It requires much better vigilance measures. Many times some of the ones who steal are the ones who work in the center. We know this. This is one of the things in which there is awareness in agriculture, in the organizations that the government has looked into. There is an increase in those types of activities. They are going to be fought through all possible means."

I would like to remind the Radio Progreso 1225 newscast listeners that the state specialized swine workers increased their pace beginning on 1968. This was the time in which Cuba began to undergo an extensive process for the better use of the various possibilities that existed in the world for the growth of the swine program. The national swine combine was created then.

The morning session of the second day of work of the ANPP continues at this time here at the Palace of Conventions, from where technician Ruben Turjian and reporters Mireya Santana, Arnaldo Coro, and Benito Joaquin Milanes are reporting.

ANPP Session Discusses Egg Production

FL2712214590 Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish 2032 GMT 27 Dec 90

[Text] After an extensive discussion on current production of eggs and poultry, today's morning session of the National Assembly of the People's Government [ANPP] concluded; the debates will resume this afternoon. The situation of egg distribution in some provinces was set forth by deputies who represent those areas, and it was acknowledged that the problem of an unreliable supply of animal feed has caused some reductions.

Carlos Lage, executive secretary of the Council of Ministers, informed the ANPP plenary session that egg production will increase this year by about 60 million units, although this increase is lower than hoped. The deputies recommended that the Council of Ministers Executive Committee make a decision about the suitability of regulating egg distribution.

Because of the current economic situation the country is experiencing, livestock raising needs many of the results of scientific research, Commander-in-Chief Fidel Castro stated at the ANPP. He noted that cattle raising has suffered from the same need for land that the other categories have had, and this has caused a decrease in the areas for fodder and forage. Therefore, in one way or another, sugarcane must help in feeding these animals.

Fidel said that we must uphold the idea that our sugar industry should continue to produce dry sacharina, which can be mixed with animal feed. The first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba ordered that a strong plan for sowing fodder be carried out, and a great battle waged to make it possible for us to increase the volume of feed production for livestock.

Deputy Rosa Elena Simeon, the president of the Academy of Sciences, in referring to the sacharina research program, explained that there are different opinions among the scientific groups studying it. She stated that it is a product that has no tradition of production in the country. Therefore, we must analyze the different categories of animals to find out how much sacharina they can eat.

The president of the Cuban Academy of Sciences stressed that every research center should seek, investigate, and persist in order to obtain a technical and scientific answer about this product; there is no literature on it anywhere in the world. Dr. Simeon asserted that sacharina is an extraordinary solution for feeding animals in the country, and it has become an alternative for Third World nations that are not grain producers because of climatic conditions.

Mozambican Students Go on Rampage; One Dead

MB2812054290 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 0500 GMT 28 Dec 90

[Text] Gaspar Moniquela, Mozambican Education Ministry representative in Cuba, and three other teachers on the Isle of Youth are in danger of dying. They were assaulted by a group of 480 Mozambican students on 23 December. The students were armed with machetes, axes, iron tools, and sticks.

What is more, the students destroyed two secondary schools, namely the 28 January and Samora Machel secondary schools. They tore up pictures of Presidents Fidel Castro and Joaquim Chissano, as well as Mozambique's national flag.

The Mozambican students stopped attending classes and are demanding the Mozambican Government pay stipends in dollars, as well as clothing, in addition to those they receive from the Cuban authorities.

In clashes that took place as a result of resistance and aggressiveness by the rebelling group, one unidentified student died and 17 others were wounded.

About 600 students are currently in police custody and this number could increase, a communique from the Council of Ministers has stated.

Further on Book Describing CIA Operations

PA2712230990 Havana International Service in Spanish 0000 GMT 27 Dec 90

[Text] Ron Ridenour, author of the book *Backfire*, published by the Jose Marti Publishing Company, has said in Havana that U.S. taxpayers do not know how the

CIA wastes funds in mounting espionage operations that end in frustration as a result of the Cuban people's intelligence and awareness.

Ridenour made that statement during the presentation of his new book, written in the form of reportage. He narrates the case of 27 agents hired by the CIA to obtain information aimed at destabilizing and destroying the Cuban revolution.

Ridenour stressed the importance of the English edition of *Backfire* three years after the real identity of the agents was disclosed to the public. At that time, the U.S. press hushed up and downplayed the incident, which today becomes current again in a world in which the United States acts with more impunity.

Airline Begins Weekly Flights to Chile

FL2712220590 Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish 2040 GMT 27 Dec 90

[Text] Cubana de Aviacion [Cuban Airlines] has celebrated in Santiago, Chile, the start of weekly flights to that country, with which it hopes to contribute to the development of tourism to Cuba. Among the people invited to the presentation party were Andres Allamand, president of the National Renewal Party; Radical Senator Anselmo Sule, and Socialist Deputy (Anibal Palma). Representatives of the national aviation organization and the airlines of different countries that operate in Santiago de Chile, as well as managers of local tourism agencies and Chilean businessmen who had participated in the recently held Havana Fair, also attended.

The airline's director general, (Rolando [name indistinct] Carballo)—who had traveled to Chile to see to some aspects of the start of the Cuban flights—and other officials attended for Cuba.

* Role, Work of Mass Organizations Discussed

91CA0035A Havana GRANMA in Spanish 22 Nov 90 p 2

[Report by Esteban Ramirez Alonso]

[Text] An old problem is on the agenda, to be sure a highly criticized one: the excessive number of committees involving the mass organizations. Nevertheless, the solutions being sought are new and, above all, effective.

This issue was debated thoroughly by the committee charged with studying the content, structure, methods, and styles of work of these organizations. The committee is made up of 26 representatives at different levels of the Cuban Workers Federation (CTC), the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDR), the National Association of Small Farmers (ANAP), the Federation of Cuban Women (FMC), and the Party, and is working on preparations for the 4th Congress.

The proliferation of these committees and on occasion the lack of a clear definition of their content and structure or of the role the mass organizations should play in them at the various levels, have detracted from the effectiveness of their work by diverting them from their basic objectives. In addition, the cadres have been overloaded with work and in many instances they have been involved in tasks that are unrelated to their activity.

Although the Politburo in 1983 approved the formation of 25 of these committees, at the municipal level (where the excess is greater) another 62 have been counted. The mass organizations participate indiscriminately in these committees, which encourages the tendency toward *reunismo* [holding excessive meetings] and contributes to the dilution of the state institutions' responsibilities for certain tasks.

Jose R. Machado Ventura, member of the Politburo and chairman of this committee, explained that the executive board of the committee recently drew up an outline for the draft that has just been discussed. That draft, plus the opinions that were expressed, will be analyzed soon by the provincial subcommittees to gather ideas for writing the final document.

The debate among those who daily face these problems at the grassroots level, either because they belong to this avalanche of committees or because they must carry out tasks derived from their decisions, was very open. Each person, without undue haste, explained his experiences and opinions. On some points there was agreement, while on others there were the contradictions that are necessary to penetrate to the heart of the matter and seek the best options, which is essential for making progress.

Although the number of committees proposed is now only 12, some people believe there is a real possibility of reducing the number further by combining committees that have similar objectives or eliminating some of them. Other people discussed the problem of formalism at meetings or the fact that the institutions at the helm sometimes become task distributors and the tasks are not commensurate with the organizations' content.

There was unanimous agreement that the Party must have the power to guide the establishment of committees to deal with specific problems in accordance with the prevailing situations in each territory, although this formula should not be abused because of the damage that could be caused by its overuse at the expense of other equally effective variants, such as coordination among the factors involved.

It was also pointed out that in violation of certain guidelines, sometimes subcommittees or groups are formed that in practice operate as if they were official structures. For everyone the key should be the qualitative definition of the role played by the mass organizations in these committees. In other words, it should be made clear who is responsible for executing and who should play a supportive role.

Also widely shared was the opinion that the meetings should be held when truly necessary, although with a logical regularity, and that only those who are responsible for the issue at hand will attend. As it stands now, sometimes representatives who have nothing to do with the issue being debated attend the meetings.

Nonetheless, it should be acknowledged that the provinces have responded correctly to the guidelines issued by the party leadership to change the number and content of the committees and working groups that exist in each territory. The majority of them have been deactivated, though this does not mean that we should let our guard down, or the same mistake will be made again.

When Machado Ventura addressed the committee, he explained that while the organizations do need autonomy in their work, they also need someone to give them cohesion, and that cohesion comes from the Party. He spoke of phases that are now over, and of the application of poor methods. He criticized some government structures that used the committees as a means of distributing jobs.

He did not fail to mention the need for a prevailing sense of solidarity and aid among everyone, nor did he ignore the misperception of some who think that the Party has to preside over everything, do everything. We cannot be idealists; often these are tasks of the government that must be carried out with the support of the mass organizations, because what others resolve under the threat of hunger and necessity, we must solve with the political work of the organizations. In his remarks he noted that in the coming weeks other issues assigned to this plenum for debate will be studied, and he emphasized how fast the work is being done because the Party cannot wait for its Congress to put into practice certain ideas of proven efficacy, such as the new structure that is now being implemented.

Along these lines, the group responsible for analyzing the structure of the Union of Young Communists (UJC) met on the 15th of this month under the direction of Roberto Robaina, and now the provincial subgroups will debate the proposals. The FMC has completed its draft, and the CDR and the ANAP are about to complete theirs.

When the meeting ended three hours later, many people came away agreeing with what one of the last speakers said, to the effect that though the committees can play a very important role, as several of them have done, it is also true that they are not always necessary for action; the food program is the best example of that.

* New Gasoline Coupons, Measures Planned

91P40083B

[Editorial Report] Havana GRANMA in Spanish on 24 November reports on page two that new measures are being taken by the Service Station Enterprise of Havana City to prevent illegal activity in the sale of gasoline. The article explains that this activity still persists in the form of unauthorized gasoline sales and possession of coupons, and that the measures include increasing the number of inspections and making changes in the coupons. According to the article, to improve supervision, station managers must remain in their units throughout the day and are no longer required to leave to make bank deposits or run other errands. With regard to the coupons, the article explains that stricter measures will be applied to prevent them from being lost between printing and distribution or reused after a sale. The article further reports that the coupons will be printed in different colors to reflect their value and whether a private or state-owned vehicle is involved. In conclusion, the article states that during the second half of 1991 the coupons will be printed with a seal to prevent falsification.

* Delegation Meets With French Catholic Group

91P40083A

[Article by Georgina Jimenez, special correspondent to GRANMA]

[Editorial Report] Havana GRANMA in Spanish on 4 December reports on page six that a Cuban delegation spent two weeks in France meeting with the Catholic Committee Against Hunger and for Development (CCHD), an organization which has ties to the French Catholic Church. Last October, according to the article, members of the CCHD visited Cuba at the invitation of the Ministry of Education. The article further explains that the French organization has been assisting Cuba over the past eight years as part of its cooperation program with Third World countries. The CCHD has spent several millions of dollars buying equipment for special schools in Cuba, assisting communities which fall under the Turquino Plan, and equipping libraries which serve Cuban Catholic Church lay organizations. As reported in the article, members of the Cuban delegation which traveled to France included Director of Special Education Guillermo Arias Beaton, representatives of Cuban lay organizations, State Committee for Economic Cooperation (CECE) and Ministry of Agriculture employees involved in the cooperation project, a family physician, and the writer of this article.

Barbados

DAILY NATION Recommends Caricom Intervention

FL2712142690 Bridgetown CANA in English 1245 GMT 27 Dec 90

[Text] Bridgetown, Barbados, Dec. 27, CANA—Following is the text of the editorial in Thursday's edition of the [DAILY] NATION.

The trouble with Suriname's Army is its apparent inability to learn from its own very costly mistakes. That's why it has acted so irresponsibly on Christmas

Eve in seizing power from a civilian government formed on the basis of free and fair elections in 1988.

The early reports from the Surinamese capital of Paramaribo have not shed much light on the military's rationale for this latest coup, beyond the usual blandishment about acting in the national interest. Having made such a mess of things after its February 1980 coup, the Surinamese military still seems bent on substituting itself for the expressed will of the electorate.

The eight years it held power, until a new civilian government headed by Prime Minister Henck Aaron was established, is best remembered for the coups and counter-coups, tortures and killings of civilians, fear and suffering. Much of the killing, the widespread fear, and economic stagnation of recent years have resulted from the rebellion led by jungle commando leader, Ronnie Brunswijk, an insurgency that helped to expose some sharp divisions between the civilian government and the military, and which were effectively exploited by the rebels.

But there were the killings and cases of torture by the Army long before it was forced to relinquish power back to a civilian government. Consequently, there are justifiable fears today in Suriname that the colonels and sergeants who now wield power in the country will simply not honour their promise of a quick return to elected government.

Strangely, this week's coup quickly followed the surprising resignation of the Army's commander, Desi Bouterse, the soldier who had first endeared himself to the people after the 1980 coup, with his promises to clean up the corruption and heal the social divisions for which the then civilian government was blamed. Instead he became a very unpopular leader, facing accusations of corruption.

As we await more details of this tragic political development, at a period when even Haiti is now celebrating the birth of electoral democracy, we call upon the governments of the Caribbean Community (Caricom) not merely to denounce the military coup. That's too traditional. We favour an immediate coordinated response by Caricom that would let the military regime in Paramaribo understand quite clearly that it is pointless looking in this direction for any kind of understanding and support.

Further, that it may very well have endangered Suriname's observer status in the community by its reckless coup. The military in Suriname or elsewhere in this region simply cannot be allowed to impose its will unilaterally on a country, in flagrant defiance of the expressed wishes of the electorate of the country. The right to change a government belongs only to the people. This is crucial to the democratic process.

Grenada

NNP Leader Says Aristide Has 'Work Cut Out'

FL2612165090 Bridgetown CANA in English 2027 GMT 25 Dec 90

[Text] St. George's, Grenada, Dec. 25, CANA—The leader of Grenada's opposition New National Party [NNP], Dr. Keith Mitchell, says Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide has his work cut out in seeking to restore stability to a battered nation.

"It's going to be extremely difficult," said Mitchell, who was included in an International Democrat Union (IDU) delegation which monitored the December elections in Port-au-Prince. Mitchell said he expects Aristide to be "the master communicator" in persuading his countrymen that there must be hard work and patience, while he gathers around him a team of technical and managerial personnel who can effectively run areas of government services.

"The onus now is upon the international community to demonstrate that not only are we going to be there to observe, but to give Haiti as much support as possible—financial, technical, or otherwise—in the process of rebuilding this battered nation," Mitchell remarked.

Mitchell told the Caribbean News Agency [CANA] that he got the impression that the influence of the ousted Duvalier regime is on its way out in Haiti. "The Army which one would expect to have major elements of that period still intact seems to have been changing gradually," he said.

Mitchell said the Army seemed to have recognised that it has a role to play in supporting a democratic institution and is not doing anything to remind people of that battered past.

"My distinct impression, based on the tremendous support for the winning candidate, is that [that] period may have ended for Haiti," he remarked. "Aristide has the chance to lay the foundation for serious democracy and economic activity in the country. The main thing is that he has to be able to bring back hope and some semblance of confidence to Haiti," the NNP leader said. He said he saw no evidence of interference in the electoral process in Haiti's mid-December poll.

"We are left to conclude that the outcome of the poll was a clear sign of the will of the people of that Caribbean territory," he declared.

Haiti

South BED Releases Senatorial Election Results

FL2812020590 Port-au-Prince Radio Haiti-Inter in Creole 2100 GMT 27 Dec 90

[Excerpts] On 26 December, the South Departmental Electoral Bureau [BED] issued the final results for senators, deputies, and mayors. The South BED advised in a

press release that it had not found the files for 27 Bureaus for Registration and Vote. [passage omitted]

The results for senator are as follows:
Julio Larossiliere, RDNP [expansion unknown]—45,396 votes
Frank Leonard, priest—28,835 votes
Franel Jean-Baptiste, National Alliance for Democracy and Progress [ANDP]—28,642 votes
Louis Lorimal Guerrier [as heard], ANDP—24,953 votes
Banate Jean-Yves, RDNP—24,935 votes
Eval Barron, RDNP—22,520 votes
Marcel Dumornay, Movement for National Reconstruction—22,284 votes
Rigaud Theatvoi [as heard], National Party for Workers [PNT]—18,405 votes
Julenor Vital—17,090 votes
Helmary [name indistinct], Haitian Christian Democratic Party [PDCH]—14,220 votes
Jean-Ovide Matu, PDCH—12,746 votes
Frank Fougere, PNT—10,690 votes

Only the first six listed will go to the second ballot. [passage omitted]

Final Election Results in Plateau Central

FL2812013090 Port-au-Prince Radio Haiti-Inter in Creole 2100 GMT 27 Dec 90

[Text] The following is a list of the final election results issued at the beginning of the week by the Plateau Central Communal Electoral Bureau:

Senators:
Smith Metelus, National Front for Change and Democracy [FNCD]—53,937 votes
Herard Pollo, FNCD—41,042 votes
Serge Gilles, National Alliance for Democracy and Progress [ANDP]—36,715 votes
Daniel Neptune, ANDP—34,947 votes
Roger Sajuste, FNCD—28,094 votes
Marius Dempe [as heard]—19,639 votes
Duperval Belizaire, Democratic Revolutionary Party of Haiti [PRDH]—14,455 votes
Olvin Asset [as heard]—7,056 votes

Six of the listed candidates qualify for the second ballot because the others did not obtain the 50.1 percent required by the Provisional Electoral Council.

Deputies in Hinche and Toman:
Duval Lefort [as heard], National Party for Workers [PNT]—4,407 votes
Eben Essac [as heard], Movement for National Reconstruction [MRN]—887 votes
Prosper Charles, [PRDH]—1,072 votes
Frantz Patrick Brochard, National Agricultural and Industrial Party [PAIN],—1,888 votes
Max Ducen Derossier, FNCD—8,021 votes
Ode Trepestre [as heard], ANDP—4,799 votes

The last two mentioned qualify for the second ballot.

Cartels:
The winning one is Renaud Jean-Gilles, FNCD—4,518 votes
Yves Pericles Boge, ANDP—50 percent, so he is the deputy for Maissade.

Thomassique and Cerca La Source:
Joseph Abraham, Mobilization for National Development [MDN]—2,836 votes
Altime Jasmin, Haitian Christian Democratic Party [PDCH]—2,358 votes
Raoul Kessa [as heard]—4,868 votes
Mario Scott, RDNP [expansion unknown]—533 votes
Honore Bernard—812 votes
Gerald Appollon—2,434 votes

Mayors

Thomassique with eight cartels:
Albert Jean-Pierre, ANDP—2,706 votes
Roosevelt Fidel, independent—1,695 votes
Raymond Joseph, MDN—1,593 votes
Morne Culture [as heard], PNDH [expansion unknown]—1,524 votes
[name indistinct] 1,504 votes
Mrs. Clanue Torchon, PRDH—1,011 votes
Fort Issidor, MRN—166 votes
Henri-Claude Raphael, PNP [expansion unknown]—141 votes

The ANDP cartel of Albert Jean-Pierre won with 2,706 votes.

Those are all the results we have so far. We will provide you with more as we receive them.

Jamaica

UWI Conducts Study on Island Drug Usage

FL2712213090 Bridgetown CANA in English 2004 GMT 27 Dec 90

[Text] Kingston, Jamaica, Dec 27, CANA—An estimated 22,000 Jamaicans use cocaine and "crack" while about 240,000 use ganja, according to a recent study on the use of drugs in the Caribbean island. The study conducted by a University of the West Indies [UWI] sociology professor, Carl Stone, said trends in the discovery of cocaine by Jamaican police suggested that in recent years the island had become a market for the sale and distribution of cocaine and crack to tourists and locals.

"The use of these hard drugs by Jamaicans (especially cocaine and crack) has combined with the long tradition of marijuana use and smoking.... to create a growing and serious problem of drug use and abuse in Jamaica," Stone said, based on the survey conducted for the United States Agency for International Development from August to October this year.

The survey sample consisted of 5,000 respondents divided equally between males and females and the target population was approximately 1.4 million Jamaicans, 15 years and over. The sample was drawn from 100 randomly selected communities.

The results of the survey, published in the GLEANER newspaper, showed that an overwhelming majority of Jamaicans were aware that the country had a drug-use problem. Unemployment and lack of money was cited as the number one problem Jamaicans felt was adversely affecting the country's young people.

"Although it attracts far less concern.... compared to unemployment and shortage of money.... The pattern of drug use by the youth emerged as the second most frequently cited youth problem," the survey found.

According to the survey, Jamaicans viewed favourably the use of marijuana, alcohol, and cigarettes but expressed reservations about using hard drugs like crack and cocaine.

Stone observed that two per cent of the 246 million people in the United States used drugs, while in Jamaica the figure was 0.89 per cent of the 2.3 million people. The study noted that Jamaican consumption of crack and cocaine was below the U.S. level because female use of these drugs was still quite negligible. However, male usage levels in Jamaica were slightly above the overall male-female U.S. percentage.

The survey concluded that the Jamaican Government needed to develop a strategy to cope with the new large inflow of illegal hard drugs to complement the existing eradication policies. These policies, Stone noted, concentrate on reducing drug exports to the United States and other countries where the illegal drug industry continues to thrive in spite of multi-billion dollar enforcement programmes and efforts.

St. Lucia

Government Names British Police Commissioner

FL2712174690 Bridgetown CANA in English 1707 GMT 27 Dec 90

[Text] Castries, St. Lucia, Dec. 27, CANA—The St. Lucia Government said on Thursday it had appointed a former British police officer as the Island's commissioner because it had been unable to recruit the services of a suitable local or Caribbean official.

54-year-old Algernon Walter Firth (eds: correct) Hemmingway, a retired officer of the Metropolitan Police in London, has been appointed police commissioner here effective January 1, 1991, the government said in a statement. Hemmingway, who reached the rank of commander and had more than 30 years' experience in police work, served in Anguilla, Australia, and the Mediterranean. The government statement quoted Prime Minister John Compton as saying that Hemmingway had been appointed only after efforts to fill the post locally or regionally had failed.

The Prime Minister said that he had considered the officers presently serving in St. Lucia and did not consider that any were quite ready to assume this important position at this time. He had extended consideration to St. Lucians serving in police forces or the services elsewhere, and indeed to nationals of other countries within the region, but it seemed that other regional countries had similar problems..., the statement said.

It reported that Compton and his deputy, George Mallet, met with gazetted officers of the force to explain the appointment. Compton said that as a result, the government was forced to look outside of the region for a suitable person to fill the post.

The statement said that the new police chief will introduce a programme of reforms and oversee the full implementation of the recommendations coming out of two inquiries into the force, including one done by Trinidadian lawyer Karl Hudson-Phillips in 1988. However, his principal task would be to identify and groom for eventual appointment as commissioner one of the officers presently serving with the force,the statement said.

The statement gave no indication as to length of the new commissioner's term of duty here. Hemmingway replaces Trinidadian Clive Sealy who had been on secondment to the local force since 1988.

Trinidad and Tobago

Editorial Urges Army Relocation

FL2712170090 Bridgetown CANA in English 1519 GMT 27 Dec 90

[Text] Port of Spain, Trinidad, Dec. 27, CANA—Last week this newspaper [Trinidad GUARDIAN] reported a plan by the government to relocate the Army from Camp Ogden, its headquarters in Port of Spain to the Mucurapo lands that have been the site of activities of the Jamaat al Muslimeen.

For years the Camp Ogden site, overshadowed as it is by Dundonald Hill, has been, we understand, considered unsuitable for an important army camp. Also, there has been concern about the Chaguaramas location and the unsuitability of having the largest concentration of the country's defence, situated on a peninsula with only one exit to the city.

What we consider a significant move has already been made in the establishment of Camp Cumuto. The benefit of this was never more obvious than in July this year when the soldiers based at Cumuto were able not only to be mobilised in quick response to the events in Port of Spain, but to be deployed to strategic positions. We

would, however, like to raise certain points with respect to the reported or even projected move by the Army to Mucurapo.

The whole issue concerning these lands must be settled once and for all. As far as we are concerned a high court judge has already ruled that the Muslimeen are squatters and hold no title to the land. But the Court of Appeal has said that the Muslimeen are entitled to judicial review of their claim to the land and this is a matter now before the court.

A firm and final decision with respect to these lands must be made and made swiftly. The controversy has dragged on for too long and the dilly-dallying by both the present and former governments has created the present situation where even after the events of July 27, members of the Muslimeen could still try to enter the premises for the purpose of holding prayers.

For years the leaders of the Jamaat al Muslimeen disregarded all lawful authority with respect to their occupation of these lands. Court injunctions were ignored, and in fact, the leader openly stated he did not recognise the laws of the land. In fact, not only were court orders ignored but the Muslimeen went on to expand their operations, and in the full view of both authorities and the public, proceeded to create their own little enclave, even city, a law unto themselves.

The country knows what happened next. On July 27, the democratically elected government was challenged in a violent manner that left many innocent people dead and caused widespread destruction of property in our city. This is the time for decisive action.

If the reports are factual and the Mucurapo lands are to be used for an Army camp, nothing must be left hanging in the air about these lands. Once and for all it must be made clear that these lands are state lands and that no individuals or group of individuals has any claim. The controversy must be cleared up and hopefully this will be done in 1991. The country has suffered enough through indecision.

El Salvador

FMLN: Armed Forces Using Red Cross Vehicles

PA2712183190 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 0000 GMT 25 Dec 90

["Press bulletin" released by the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) for the Modesto Ramirez Central Front on 25 December]

[Text] 1. Following instructions issued by the Armed Forces High Command and Cristiani, the colonels of the 4th Infantry Brigade and Military Detachment 1 have been using vehicles with no license plates and with the Red Cross emblem painted on them to evacuate the casualties that the Atlacatl Battalion has been sustaining in Chalatenango since 21 December.

2. Proof of this is that on 24 December a vehicle coming from the battle area was stopped and found to be transporting a wounded soldier of the Atlacatl Battalion and three members of Military Detachment 1.

3. We are inviting humanitarian organizations, the Red Cross, the International Red Cross Committee, and any other such organization to clarify every situation of this kind involving these organizations, thus preventing a loss of prestige by them. We are inviting them to demand that the government and the Armed Forces respect the emblems of these organizations, personnel, and infrastructure.

[Signed] Modesto Ramirez Central Front
25 December 1990

Nicaragua

Cornap Privatization Plan Announced for Jan

PA2712173190 Managua Radio Ya in Spanish 1200 GMT 27 Dec 90

[Text] Cornap [People's National Corporation] Director (Thyson Caldera), has said that this institution will present a privatization plan for the state-run companies, as well as the strategies to implement the plan, in January. According to the government official, the plan has taken into account the social and production sectors nationwide, without discrimination. Caldera stated that the companies' privatization will benefit the businessmen, as well as the workers, because privatization is for all Nicaraguan citizens, businessmen and producers who want to invest locally.

Panama

Comptroller General Comments on U.S. Aid

PA2712182290 Panama City Circuit RPC Television in Spanish 1730 GMT 26 Dec 90

[Text] Ruben Dario Carles, the comptroller general of Panama, has reported that the U.S. Government has approved $461 million in aid for Panama and disbursed $109 million, but the utilization of these funds is conditioned on compliance with binding legal norms.

[Begin Carles recording] A significant amount of money is yet to be disbursed. There are funds, however, that have already been approved by the United States and are waiting for apportionment by Panama, because we must work out the details involved in biddings, contracts, and everything else that permits the legal utilization of money. This money is available. I think that in 1991 the government will have abundant resources. Now it is up to the Panamanian authorities to do the work that has to be done, because a U.S. allotment is one thing, another is to have the check in your pocket, and still another is to have a finished project. Many details have to be filled in, and the finance minister is very demanding in this. The law and the president demand that everything be done through bids. The people wanted a change in Panama. Here is the change: Things are done in the open. Everything has to be done through bids. [end recording]

Captain Involved in Herrera Coup Attempt Captured

PA2712235790 Panama City EL PANAMA AMERICA 27 Dec 90 p 1A

[Report by Juan Pritsiolas]

[Text] The Judicial Technical Police [PTJ] on 26 December captured former Captain Luis Vallejos, the former chief of the "Doberman" antiriot company. He was one of the top leaders of the coup headed by Colonel Eduardo Herrera, (retired).

Vallejos was captured after a PTJ operation in an undisclosed location. The PTJ expects to capture former Captain Jorge Eliecer Bernal in the next few hours. Vallejos and Bernal had unleashed a "psychological war" by threatening to stage bomb attacks.

Meanwhile, Police Director Ebrahim Asvat said that a police commission is proceeding with the investigations to identify the members of the coupist movement. He said that so far, 30 dismissals have been ordered and the investigations are proceeding, but not in the form of a "witch hunt."

Meanwhile, PTJ Director Leslie Loaiza accepted his institution's blame for the escape of Col. Eduardo Herrera's brother, Lieutenant Tomas Herrera. Loaiza said that the guards involved in the escape will be punished. He also mentioned the need to build cells in the PTJ headquarters, because now prisoners have to be kept in different offices in the building.

Crime Rate Said Uncontrolled at Modelo Jail

PA2812012090 Panama City CRITICA LIBRE in Spanish 26 Dec 90 p 2

[Report by Justino Gonzalez, Jr.]

[Text] Vendettas among mafia members, numerous escapes, drug trafficking, and overcrowding have turned the Modelo Jail into a bastion of criminal operations.

Panamanian authorities have acknowledged on several occasions that the serious overcrowding of prisoners and its negative consequences make the Modelo Jail unsafe nowadays. The jail was built in the 1930's for approximately 300 prisoners.

The fact that prisoners have been able to sneak drugs and knives into the jail and have even been able to kidnap policemen proves that inside this jail the only law that exists is the law of "the strongest" and not the one that the authorities try to impose.

The prisoners that enter the jail form gangs which struggle for supremacy in their cells and galleries and sometimes even fight each other. Recently, these gangs have been murdering criminals—who have pending accounts with drug distribution organizations—in exchange for money.

That was the case of the Curundu Cartel's chief, Arquimedes Cueto, a.k.a. "Mede," who was murdered in the Modelo Jail by prisoners belonging to rival gangs. "Mede" was responsible for the murder of Sergeant Andres Riquelme of the Public Force.

There have also been over 10 insurrections this year, resulting in several escapes.

The most feared and wanted drug traffickers of the Medellin and Cali cartels, who have been sent to this jail after being arrested, have managed to escape from patrols and their guardians, thus proving the authorities' inability to prevent the actions of the criminals.

The guards of the Modelo Jail are always fearful because their lives are not guaranteed and security is minimal in that penitentiary. The neighbors of the crowded "El Chorrillo" corregimiento are worried and sleep in anguish because they may be the next victims of some escaped prisoner looking for a place to hide in the dark.

CRITICA LIBRE warned the authorities about the threat of vengeance by Jose Maria Infanson, a.k.a. Media Luna, against "Mede" but the authorities paid no attention.

The amount of knives, weapons, and drugs inside "La Modelo" have turned it into a place where delinquents can carry on with their crimes because of the authorities' impotence.

Argentina

Foreign Ministry Reacts to UK's Major's Comments

PY2812013890 Buenos Aires DYN in Spanish 0039 GMT 28 Dec 90

[Excerpts] Buenos Aires, 27 Dec (DYN)—Argentina and Great Britain had their first spat today since resuming diplomatic relations when British Prime Minister John Major [words indistinct] Iraq against Kuwait to the disembarkation of Argentine troops in the Malvinas Islands in April 1982.

Major's statement was dryly answered by the Argentine Foreign Ministry, which released a brief communique tonight reiterating "firmly Argentina's sovereign rights over the Malvinas Islands and the waters that surround them."

The ratification was made "in view of media reports from 27 December on the year-end message that the British prime minister sent to the Malvinas today, the contents of which are not in step with the current climate of Argentine-British relations." [passage omitted]

Ironically, the spat occurred on the same day that the two countries announced an agreement that will allow Argentines to visit the graves of their relatives in February 1991. [passage omitted]

But the ties between Argentina and Great Britain took a turn for the worse today due to Major's statement and Argentina's caustic response. [passage omitted]

The Argentine Foreign Ministry's very brief answer is only seven lines long. It was released by the ministry's Press Directorate and carries a stamp labeling it "very urgent."

Cavallo Minimizes Major's Remarks

PY2812105490 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 0948 GMT 28 Dec 90

[Text] Buenos Aires, 28 Dec (NA)—Foreign Minister Domingo Cavallo today minimized the remarks made by British Prime Minister John Major, who compared the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait with the temporary recovery of the Malvinas Islands in 1982.

In remarks over a radio station, Cavallo said: "This remark by the British prime minister was intended for the inhabitants of the Malvinas and it refers to the historical event."

Cavallo noted: "At no time does the prime minister speak disparagingly, nor does he criticize Argentina, its government, or its people at this moment."

Government 'Strongly Condemns' Coup in Suriname

PY2712160490 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1437 GMT 27 Dec 90

[Text] Buenos Aires, 27 Dec (TELAM)—The Argentine Government "strongly condemns" the coup d'etat perpetrated on 24 December by a group of military officers in the Republic of Suriname against "the legitimate officials of one of the youngest democracies of the Americas."

In a communique released by the Foreign Ministry, the government of President Carlos Menem states that "this flagrant violation of the decision expressed by the people at the ballot boxes should be unanimously rejected by all democracies of this continent because it is a step backward in the irreversible process of regional democratization."

The communique concludes by stating: "In the face of the serious events that have taken place in the Republic of Suriname, the Argentine Government is holding consultations with the other countries of the region."

Relatives of Falklands Dead To Visit Islands

PY2712234690 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1625 GMT 27 Dec 90

[Text] Buenos Aires, 27 Dec (TELAM)—Foreign Minister Domingo Cavallo has announced that relatives of men who died in the Malvinas Islands during the war with the United Kingdom will visit the islands on 15 February 1991.

During a news conference at the Foreign Ministry, Cavallo noted that the relatives of the victims will travel on 15 February to Rio Gallegos and, from there, to the Malvinas airport on another flight.

Accompanied by church representatives, the victims' relatives will finally take a helicopter to the site where their dead were buried.

Menem on Pardon, Inflation Rate, Unemployment

PY2712173490 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1517 GMT 27 Dec 90

[Text] Buenos Aires, 27 Dec (NA)—President Carlos Menem announced at noon today that the pardon for Mario Eduardo Firmenich [former head of the Montoneros] and high-ranking military officers will be announced tomorrow.

He said the announcement will be made tomorrow because he still does not have all the necessary reports on the issue.

President Menem also announced at the Government House that the December inflation rate will be 4.6 percent and that the unemployment rate has decreased from 9 to 6 percent.

[Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish at 1537 GMT on 27 December reports that, commenting at

noon on the pardon that will be announced tomorrow, President Carlos Menem told journalists accredited to Government House: "The responsibility for granting any pardon is entirely mine and should not be attributed to any of my advisers."]

Further on Pardon

PY2712195090 Madrid EFE in English 1719 GMT 27 Dec 90

[Text] Buenos Aires, Dec 27 (EFE)—Argentine President Carlos Menem said his pardon for former senior military officers and junta leaders jailed for human rights crimes would be announced on Friday [28 December], despite bitter opposition from many Argentines.

"The news that everyone has been waiting for, about the pardon, will be made known tomorrow," Menem said Thursday. He said the government was withholding further details about the move while it "takes the necessary measures to avoid any type of legal challenge."

Several times over the year, Menem said he planned to pardon six jailed officers and the leader of the defunct Montoneros leftist guerrilla group in an effort to "heal the wounds of the past."

Various human rights groups, politicians and some Roman Catholic bishops have called for protest marches as soon as the pardons are announced, and Argentina's ambassador to the United Nations Human Rights Commission is reportedly going to resign in protest.

The officers were jailed for their role in the "Dirty War" carried out by the three military juntas that ruled from 1976 to 1983, in which security forces killed at least 9,000 civilians suspected of being leftist sympathizers.

The pardon will benefit former President Jorge Videla and his Navy chief Emilio Massera of the first junta, both of whom were sentenced to life imprisonment on charges of kidnapping, murder, and torture. Also to be freed is former President Roberto Viola, head of the second junta, who was sentenced to 16 and a half years' imprisonment at his 1985 trial.

Ramon Camps and Pablo Ovidio Ricchieri, ex-Army generals who served as chiefs of Buenos Aires police, will also be pardoned. Another former general Carlos Suarez Mason, who is a fugitive from justice charged with involvement in 39 murders committed under the last of the three juntas, will also be pardoned.

"For the moment (Suarez Mason) is included in the pardon," Menem said Thursday, explaining that the government wanted to avoid having to call the scores of civilian and military witnesses who would have to testify about the abuses. The president has also said he will pardon former Montoneros leader Mario Firmenich, who is serving a 30-year prison term for kidnapping and murder.

Menem's pledge to pardon the officers prompted Juan Pablo Cafiero, a leader of the ruling Peronist party, to resign from his post in the party's national council.

The Roman Catholic Church has also been split by the controversy. Bishops Miguel Hesayne, Jaime de Nevares, and Jorge Novak have announced their support for the anti-pardon protest marches, but the head of the Argentine Espiscopal Conference, Msgr Antonio Quarracino said he would receive news of the pardons with "joy."

Meanwhile, conservative deputy and Menem advisor Alvaro Alsogaray said he would propose a parliamentary resolution to commend the pardoned officers. "A pardon puts all of them in the same bag and doesn't solve the basic problem, because we must give General Videla and the commanders their due as winners of a war," Alsogaray said.

The president's legal secretary, Raul Granillo Ocampo, said a pardon would be granted to former economy minister Jose Martinez de Hoz, who has been charged with involvement in two kidnappings. Also to be pardoned are two leaders of the Peronist party, Norma Kenedy and Duilio Brunello, who have been barred from holding public office after being convicted of embezzlement of public funds.

Buenos Aires federal prosecutor Luis Moreno Ocampo, who helped convict the jailed ex-generals, has accused Menem of granting the pardons as part of a "pact" with the military, and charged that Firmenich may have donated money to Menem's presidential campaign.

In October 1939, three months after taking office, Menem pardoned 39 military personnel convicted of rights abuses, 64 people accused of belonging to guerrilla groups, along with 171 soldiers who participated in mutinies against his predecessor Raul Alfonsin. After a military uprising in 1987, Alfonsin pushed a law though parliament exempting all but the highest-ranking officers from prosecution for rights violations.

Menem Considering 'Lenient Attitude' for Rebels

PY2712211090 Buenos Aires Domestic Service in Spanish 1500 GMT 27 Dec 90

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] President Carlos Menem has confirmed that if the Armed Forces Supreme Council sentences the leaders of the 3 December painted faces rebellion to death, he will study the possibility of adopting a lenient attitude on the issue. He said some sectors of society have asked him to be flexible if the martial court sentences the mutinous officers to death. He also noted that it will take a long time for the sentences to be determined and that they might only be issued in June 1991.

He said the judges are responsible for determining the seriousness of the 3 December actions and that, considering the facts, he believes the incident was a mutiny, although it is not up to him to decide that.

He said the rumors that some civilian groups may have financed the Painted Faces incident are being investigated in depth and that the government is trying to arrest several civilians still at large. The results of the investigation, he said, will be announced at the appropriate time. [passage omitted]

*** Daniel Lupa on 'Celeste' Faction's Maneuvering**

*** Cabinet Reshuffle**

91SM0112A Buenos Aires LA PRENSA in Spanish 14 Nov 90 pp 1, 9

[Commentary by Daniel Lupa]

[Text] Unlike the president's previous trip, which left Dr. Duhalde in charge of the permanent structure of the Office of President (Menem's men, obviously, but also, no doubt, the various "tents" surrounding him), this time the president chose to be accompanied by his teams, which are thus traveling with him, alongside a not very large, yet significant number of secretaries and close advisers.

Oddly enough, but no less significantly, the Secretariat General of the Presidency has recorded a high percentage of one week and even ten day leaves among its senior officials; thus, during Menem's absence there will be, technically speaking, a significant functional vacuum, except for several pro-forma matters.

This temporary emptying out of the Secretariat General of the Presidency seems to be consistent with the incidents that took place during the president's previous trip (or Dr. Duhalde's last interim presidency, which seems to be the real cause of this unexpected movement) along with the consequences of some of the measures that the accidental head of the National Executive Branch (PEN) took at the time.

In principle, these moves would seem merely to reflect the jockeying for position and the maneuvers of multiple effects that are part of the internal battle and that unquestionably suggest that when the president returns from the Far East, measures will be taken quite soon to update the cast of characters around him. Might this happen before 5 December, so that by the time Bush arrives there will have been a housecleaning to prevent any bipolar scene?

Duhalde's Precautions

Those who closely watched the vicissitudes of Duhalde's interim presidency during the previous presidential trip underscore how quickly the temporary chief executive had before him a dozen decrees that were nothing more than "hot potatoes."

The decree pardoning the couple from Chacabuco obviously had the advantage of dominating the press and completely overshadowing other measures that were perhaps of greater institutional importance. It also bolstered the left's campaign against recognition of the legitimacy of the war and the subsequent defeat of subversion.

Aside from this one, perhaps two more of the dozen decrees were significant. For example, in one fell swoop the Secretariat General of the Presidency snatched CONAPA (National Commission for Environmental Protection), which until then had been listed under the Health and Social Welfare area, from Alberto Kohan's decision-making sphere and put it under the control of Eduardo Bauza. This made it seem as if the institutions and departments of government migrated with their officials in a charismatic rather than institutional ritual.

It is no less odd that the dozen measures included changes in the makeup of the Superior Auditing Board of the Nation. Even though this decision was one of far-reaching importance, it was not held off until Menem returned and was placed before Duhalde for his signature. The five new members could express the four or five points of view that have come together in the "celeste" [faction of more moderate Menem supporters] leadership.

Did this represent an effort to place Duhalde in a compromising position? After he received a high degree of support in the province for his gubernatorial candidacy, these incidents severely weakened his rank and file backing. Nevertheless, a careful, detailed look at internal political intrigues reveals that this maneuver has seemingly complicated the plans of the "celeste" faction, which is thought to be suppporting Duhalde as a candidate for governor but without backing his victory.

The Much Feared Absence of a President?

"It is unlikely that any official from outside the Government Palace will be able to get through the tight circle that has surrounded the president's office since Bauza arrived, whether Menem or Duhalde is inside," say the people who are used to walking on the worn carpet in the president's office.

The conclusion drawn from this is that all of the decrees that Duhalde signed while Menem was traveling in Italy, Poland, and the USSR were initialed by the Secretariat General, which is tantamount to its approval and encouragement. This is probably why Duhalde has decided to put together his own supervisory and...contingency team.

What is contradictory about the Secretariat General's lockout effort, however, is that perhaps the strongest support for Duhalde's candidacy for governor comes from none other than the Secretariat General.

Obviously, if Duhalde runs for governor (not to mention if he wins), the vice presidency would be left vacant. In accordance with the order of succession under the law, Eduardo Menem, the first vice president of the Senate, would then become vice president, with all of the powers

of that office in the event of the president's temporary absence...or if there is no president.

One can readily see that the pressures to send Deputy Manzano to the embassy in Madrid (replacing Figuerola) and his preference for Italy (where he would replace Ruckhauff, reportedly with obvious concern among the Italians over the odd loan negotiations under Alfonsin) are at odds with the obvious intention of the "celeste" faction to try and promote him to president of the Chamber of Deputies, replacing Pierri, even though they have little chance of succeeding.

In that case, the "celeste" faction would have the presidency of the Senate, the vice presidency of the nation, and the presidency of the Chamber of Deputies; the final move in this strategy of encirclement would be to establish the office of "minister coordinator," even if they have to do it by amending the constitution or the ministries law. The Alfonsin faction in the Chamber of Deputies could well go along with either of these approaches.

Major and Minor Changes

Consequently, it does not seem unusual that Menem himself has had to come out and defend his own rights by immediately setting forth certain political guidelines having to do with the retention of his institutional powers as head of the administration.

Hence, even though he was overseas, he addressed the issue of a "minister coordinator" quickly and firmly, denying the validity of such an office in a country that he described as having a traditionally presidential system since 1853, perhaps thus heading off the aforementioned strategy of encirclement. There was a reason why the president went to play soccer at Duhalde's villa on the same day that Duhalde should have attended the Canuelas Peronist meeting, if he wanted to run for governor. If the president was at his villa, he had a good excuse for not attending the party gathering. Menem's support for Mayor Carlos Brown does not seem unrelated to this plan, under which Duhalde, staying on as vice president, would serve as a barrier to the "celeste" faction's strategy of encirclement.

Is he thus backing the resistance to the "celeste" faction's attempts to oust Dr. Arias as secretary of justice and replace him with Dr. Radadelli, the second in command to Secretary Granillo Ocampo? At the same time, will Menem maneuver to keep Hugo Anzorregui in the SIDE [Secretariat for State Intelligence] and thus head off former Ambassador Vaquir, whom the "celeste" faction is pushing for this vital post?

The Cabinet

Speculation about these two areas shows that an attempt is being made to gain a foothold in areas that have vital responsibilities in running the government. And it is being made just when all of the options for retaining the current cabinet seem to have been exhausted.

If this situation was already obvious back in April and then at the start of the second half of the year, the initial postponement (given the crisis caused by the hyperinflation that Alfonsin left behind) and the subsequent one (because Bush was initially scheduled to arrive in mid-September) meant that the deadlines have passed and that the functions of the ministers have undergone further steady deterioration.

It is therefore unlikely that Menem plans to keep the same cabinet into 1991. At the same time, as in September and for the same reasons, the change is unlikely to take place after Bush's visit. The U.S. president would not appreciate a cabinet reshuffle after his visit, thus creating the unmistakable impression that he had a hand in the matter. "It is contraindicated to receive such an important visitor with one cabinet and then tell him shortly thereafter that the ministers whom he had greeted were replaced by others whom he did not even meet."

Thus, many of the people close to the president expect that the long delayed changes will take place between the time that he returns and 5 December, before Bush arrives. Do you not think that the "celeste" faction is aware of this and is therefore hastening its moves on the worn out presidential carpets?

* Constitutional Reform

91SM0112B Buenos Aires LA PRENSA in Spanish 13 Nov 90 pp 1, 7

[Commentary by Daniel Lupa]

[Text] Only when it became certain that contact with the president was going to be postponed for at least ten days was the decision made to have "informal, discreet, and confidential contacts" with a couple of newsmen, each of whom, in turn, was unaware that the other would be there, as has often been the case. Thus, as a result of the conversations on Wednesday and Thursday, plus an explanatory phone call on Friday morning, two of the four Buenos Aires morning papers (but not LA PRENSA) reported an imminent constitutional reform on Sunday.

By noon on Sunday, and to judge from the exchanges on Sunday afternoon, the Secretariat General of the Presidency seemed pleased with the successful start of a campaign to commit the administration publicly to the decision to spur a constitutional reform and, at the same time, to legitimize the political plans for a rapprochement with the Alfonsin faction.

During the ten days prior, the same Secretariat General had to stem the whispering to various mass media about the imminent resumption of political contacts to put together the draft of a constitutional reform. The first meeting of the second round with...Radical Party authorities (read Alfonsin) was supposed to be held during the week that ended on Saturday, read the announcements.

But the announcement did more than cause surprise in the Interior Ministry, which is in charge of such matters. It also prompted concern within the Presidency itself because of the unforeseen scope of one meeting, on an official level and separate from the plans of Menem himself, with the former head of the PEN [National Executive Branch].

Officials close to the president got together to scheme and decided that the plan should be halted abruptly. It was then decided to begin a process of "preparatory softening up" by taking advantage of the president's imminent absence from the country. From this emerged the discreet, confidential, and informal contacts with selected commentators.

Mounting Concern

The announcement that conversations to hammer out a constitutional reform were to begin last week and that these contacts would be with none other than the Alfonsin faction was not an isolated, random development. It was consistent with well-known background information on the political line that is supported by both the secretary general of the presidency, Dr. Eduardo Bauza, and the governor of Buenos Aires, Dr. Antonio Cafiero, who would rather see Peronism come to terms with the Alfonsin faction than with the classical-liberal or moderate groups.

LA PRENSA caused quite a stir just two Sundays ago when it revealed in this column the Secretariat General of the Presidency's plan to "rewrite the script" for the economy minister, promote a "parallel government" on the basis of the Peronist undersecretaries with functions throughout the cabinet, and re-Peronize the Menem administration in order to push for an understanding with the Alfonsin faction.

The plan got under way when a questionnaire was sent to the Peronist undersecretaries. One of the questions was in and of itself revealing in the sense that it regarded a constitutional reform as a "fait accompli." It read: "Given a possible reform of the second part of the National Constitution, a task force has to be created to think about new proposals or the incorporation of articles into the constitution that will, within the federal framework, streamline procedures, simplify red tape, resolve pending administrative issues, etc. If you agree, how do you think this task force should be put together?"

Circles very close to the president seemed to be concerned that constitutional reform, which has been discredited for the past six years, was being approved of, without warning and de facto, by two actions of the Secretariat General of the Presidency.

This is especially true if we bear in mind that the plan seems designed to become a major and far from ingenuous part of the overall strategy that Menem has reportedly begun to develop for the 1991 elections.

"How Are You, Mr. Deputy?"

Those attending the Employers Meeting of the Ibero-American Association of Chambers of Commerce, who visited with Carlos Menem after the gathering in late October in Buenos Aires, were surprised when they heard how the president said good-bye to Carlos de la Vega. He chaired the employers delegation as head of the Argentine Chamber of Commerce and as the brand-new president of the Ibero-American Association that had just met in the capital.

"See you very soon, 'Mr. Deputy,'" remarked the president with a broad smile as he shook Carlos de la Vega's hand, also winking and nodding his head. This display could hardly be interpreted as anything other than a reaffirmation of Menem's support for candidates from outside the party on his slates, thus reflecting his strong proclivity for revamping the current party structures.

Is this perhaps the same stand that the so-called "celeste" faction, headed by Eduardo Bauza, takes? All indications would seem to be that this faction is seeking to bolster the "progressive" groups within Peronism that the Cafiero faction is betting on in order to bring about a political understanding with the Alfonsin faction and prevent a breakup of or exodus from the traditional parties during these times of change.

We should therefore not be surprised that the Secretariat General (or its officials who play major roles in the formal running of the party, such as Undersecretary Dr. Carlos Corach) has distinct reservations about and is even trying to directly hamper such an accord. Corach is a Peronist representative, but his role in party affairs is based on a division of labor among the "celestes," and therefore in Peronist circles he is thought to be in charge of Peronist political relations in the provinces.

Menem Reluctant

The reform thus seems to be part of a broader political plan and, for the time being, would serve only as a tool for exerting influence on various issues: a) relations with the Alfonsin faction, by preventing them from being impaired if an attempt were made to define them in terms of the economic agenda; b) an obvious role in drafting the slates and candidacies for 1991, which could spell the beginning of Menem's attempt to eventually revamp party structures, in contrast to Bauza's plan of re-Peronization; c) the idea of preserving a structure that can prevent the in-depth changes that are under way by passing amendments to the constitution that would take the country back to an authoritarian, populist approach, under the guise of a modernization, thus following the model that the Alfonsin faction devised for presenting the issue.

But Menem seems to have given his consent to reform without deciding on its timing. Still current is his remark of two months ago, when he said that "there will be more urgent issues for quite some time," before we can think about reforming the constitution. He does not seem to

have given his go-ahead for a reformist movement in this direction, or if he has, it comes to no more than the gesture he made in promoting constitutional reform in Buenos Aires Province, when he reserved his final words to discourage any movement for reform.

Proof of this is that he was reportedly caught off guard during his trip to Japan when he was asked about the newspaper commentaries that weekend, which had been prompted by the Secretariat General. He had to clarify that neither a prime minister nor a minister coordinator was part of any plan to replace the presidential system, which he fully reaffirmed.

Unforeseen Consequences

Since a confrontation seems to have broken out between conservatives ("celestes") and agents of change ("rojo-punzo" and other factions), we should not rule out the possibility that there will be a reshuffling of political positions.

There has been talk that the ambassador to Paraguay, former Formosa Governor Floro Bogado, will return to the country to run in his province on a Menem slate that includes candidates from outside the party. And Senator Eduardo Menem, one of the "celeste" chiefs and a follower of the secretary general of the presidency's line, is mentioned as a potential replacement for Bogado.

In addition, the likely return of Argentina's ambassador to Italy, Dr. Carlos Ruckhauff, has again given rise to stories of a diplomatic post for Deputy Jose Luis Manzano, who would replace Ruckhauff or the ambassador to Spain, Dr. Figuerola, who would also return early next year.

* Daniel Lupa on CGT Disintegration

* Ubaldini's Decline

91SM0111A Buenos Aires LA PRENSA in Spanish 21 Nov 90 pp 1, 7

[Commentary by Daniel Lupa]

[Text] When he tried to promote his candidacy in the province of Buenos Aires, he apparently lost. When he tried to retain the post by pursuing a strategy of confrontation, he apparently jeopardized his continued presence as head of the CGT [General Confederation of Labor]. When he tried to secure massive support to negotiate a position in government, the effort presumably backfired.

Finally, according to the information available now, five days later, the unsuccessful and almost inconsequential rally in the plaza reaffirmed this time more than ever that Saul Ubaldini is on the decline. Moreover, he has little chance to reverse course unless his current negotiations manage to relieve the combined pressure being placed on him by left-wing Peronists (Gennaro or Maria Sanchez) and the leftist machines that seem to have divided the task between those who are publicly forsaking him and those who are voicing the hope of "rescuing him for grassroots causes."

It is a fact that the CGT secretary has been left more than somewhat ruffled after the rally in the Plaza de Mayo and that if an overall conclusion can be drawn from the unsuccessful gathering, it has several points. A) The Azopardo CGT has begun what could be described as the last stage of its decline. B) In spite of the pressure that the left has applied, it has been unable to salvage its own machine, is restricted to several groups of civil servants, and has no industrial unions. C) Ubaldini has more than ever undergone a sharp political decline and is now limited to negotiating, from a position of weakness, with the rest of organized labor. D) The outcome could be otherwise only if Ubaldini decides to turn quickly—and violently—to the left in search of a space that the left would be willing to give him, in spite of the high cost in prestige that such an association would entail for both.

Negotiations?

One clear-cut result of the unsuccessful rally is the resurgence of the 62 movement, an issue that had presumably been addressed at the negotiations prior to the meeting at Olivos among Menem, Miguel, and Ubaldini some days before the rally.

The representative of the "62 organizations," former national deputy Torcuato Fino, did not take long to confirm this and say that he told us so. He urged that the political and union machine of Peronism be turned into an open alternative for reunifying the fractured CGT.

Such expectations seem to have been reaffirmed even more strongly during the conversation that Ubaldini and Lorenzo Miguel held after the rally. The explanations supplied by the brewery union leader during these initial contacts seem "obligatory" but specious or "of little substance." Ubaldini had reportedly argued that it was "impossible to halt the rally, everything was on the line already, there was no turning back" by the time that Miguel decided that the rally should not be held because it was a show of disrespect for Menem after the commitments that he had made at the Olivos meeting.

The metalworkers leader could hardly countenance such disobedience on issues as touchy as the rally last Thursday. Moreover, if the alternative is to strengthen a political axis between him and Diego Ibanez or between him and Ubaldini, the privileges of the government oil-workers union leader would seem to leave no room for doubt. Hence, Ubaldini's hint about undertaking some sort of negotiation will condemn him to "being a benchwarmer" (as they say in the soccer slang that organized labor is so fond of) for some time before he manages to do this.

The outlook for Ubaldini seems unavoidable. He became CGT leader pursuant to a decision by Miguel, and during the slightly less than ten years that he has headed a "unified" CGT, he has been unable to distance

himself from this decision-making sphere. When he has done so, temporarily, it has been because the veteran metalworkers leader decided to explore other alternatives. His efforts to establish his own force have been limited to short-lived influence in the regional groups in the interior and in a half-dozen unions (including the construction workers union for some time) without real prospects for expansion. His prospects seem no better at this point, now that he is without Miguel's backing.

He tried to ignore his commitment to Menem, which Miguel reminded him of, and instead listened to Maria Sanchez, who accused Menem of resorting to "threats and authoritarian decrees," believing that his role in a confrontation was still valid, which reflects a reasoning that is, to say the least, outdated.

Gains by "The 62"?

Miguel's prospects of achieving the goal that was presumably agreed upon at the meeting in Olivos with Menem and Ubaldini seem no less gloomy than Ubaldini's chances of staying on as head of the Azopardo faction.

First of all, he has to do something that he has always shrunk from: become the official head of the machine, no matter what the machine is (in the case of the "62 organizations"), or of a CGT reorganized around them. Becoming secretary general of "the 62" at a time when they are merely the political machine of Peronism is different from becoming chief of the CGT as a whole.

Miguel does not seem cut out to exercise power directly and on a daily basis. As with the "point men" of the urban parties, his power lies in direct contacts and in the resolution of practical problems so that he can later "talk tough" on an organizational foundation (control of the machine) and with the blessing of the rank and file who have a stake in the benefits.

If it had been a question of the balance of power in the not too distant past, he could have been CGT secretary general as often as he liked. Yet the instinct to preserve his unofficial leadership told him to avoid organizational functions, and he was thus able to retain more power without taking much risk.

Would he now be willing to wield official power? Ubaldini's suggestions seem designed to re-create the situation of previous years in the CGT. This will undoubtedly not suffice in this emergency, where the very survival of the CGT as an institution seems to be at stake if government regulations in this regard are reviewed.

As a result, the proposals that Ubaldini let slip seem far from realistic to the metalworkers leader. Since Torcuato Fino was the one who said "I told you so" and did not advance the main political argument behind Miguel's back or [appear] at odds with his strategy, then we cannot imagine Ubaldini as secretary general of "the 62" even if this means burying the Azopardo faction. If anyone has to "face the music" now, it is Miguel himself. And Diego Ibanez is presumably not unaware (if what he confided to a group of close friends last Sunday is true) of how unlikely it is that Miguel will take up an official responsibility of this magnitude.

Uncertainties on the Left

The gathering in the Plaza de Mayo showed that the left is divided. On the one hand, the Communist Party was rallying what is left of its machine and spray-painting graffiti even on the Mayo Pyramid, mingling with the red and black banners of the Intransigents (were they stolen from the anarchist tradition?), alongside the PTP [Work and People Party], the PCR [Revolutionary Communist Party], the Liberation Party, etc., and signing leaflets and declarations on behalf of the so-called "united left" and the FRAL [Liberation Broad Front]. On the other hand, members of these two groups, such as MAS [Movement Toward Socialism] or Nestor Vicente's IDEPO [People's Democratic Left], were not mincing words in voicing their opposition to the gathering. They described it as inadequate and based their opposition to the Azopardo faction on the fact that it had not supported the telephone-company workers in the capital, that it had not taken action against the privatizations, that it had not supported the left-wing leadership of the health-care union, and that it had not attended the meeting of the "group promoting the political proposal of the workers," of Piccinini and Lister.

It is also significant that the so-called "multiparty" or "multisector" group (populist, democratic, and authentic Socialists, the PTP, the Popular Democrats, the Christian Democrats, and the PI [Intransigent Party]), which met the day before the rally, has remained silent, along with the Alfonsin faction, which is reluctant to stand behind Ubaldini, perhaps for reasons of long-standing tactics.

The rally did more, however, than reveal the serious rifts on the left. It also brought to light two strategic, undiscussed options for Ubaldini, both of which will sharply reduce his maneuvering room. While one group rejects him as no longer of any use, the other is demanding that he commit himself to a general strike, as he was told by the teams of leftist mouthpieces who had been placed amid the crowd on the day of the rally.

The situation is more complicated from this perspective if we bear in mind that the Peronist left (the "eight," plus De Gennaro and Maria Sanchez now), in common cause with the left that is demanding this commitment of him and that went to the Plaza de Mayo, represent the only labor-union support that the Azopardo faction of the CGT has left, isolated and limited as it is to a weak and divided rank and file, like the rank and file of the left itself.

* Miguel's Strategy

91SM0111B Buenos Aires LA PRENSA in Spanish 15 Nov 90 pp 1, 7

[Commentary by Daniel Lupa]

[Text] There can be no doubt that Lorenzo Miguel's decision to slam the table and split the Ubaldini front must go in the plus column for Menem.

The fact that this carried no parallel costs is another matter. So is the simultaneous resignation of Luis Barrionuevo from ANSAAL [expansion unknown], even though it had been foreshadowed by the steps that Alberto Kohan took, steps that his predecessor in the ministry had not dared to take. It was with good reason that in publicly explaining his decision Lorenzo Miguel supported his main argument with some substantive remarks that will remain food for thought for quite some time: "Menem offered solutions (sic) and took some steps...So I don't think it's a good idea for us not to reciprocate with him."

The unofficial account of the outcome of the meeting among Ubaldini, Miguel, and Menem at Olivos was not short on references to the president's alleged offer to solve union "problems." Yet at no point was there any specific mention of what he had offered, what union problems were under consideration, nor what the scope of any potential commitments might be, if he in fact made any, as they say he did.

If those who relate Miguel's move to Barrionuevo's resignation from ANSAAL and, in passing, to the solution of several financial problems with the social benefits of the metalworkers union (in that case, ANSAAL would be responsible for clearing up these problems, which some say involve the astronomical figure of $10 million) are right, they are still leaving out the strictly political factors that played no less of a role in precipitating the breakup.

The Climate, the Left, and the Clean Sweep

First of all, if we focus on the immediate problems of the Miguel faction within the narrow bounds of the Azopardo CGT [General Confederation of Labor], it seems obvious that Miguel should have chosen to maintain his relative independence or become a sort of figurehead for the decisions of the CGT left.

Miguel is clearly in the minority in a group that is technically dominated by Mrs. Maria Sanchez and leader Victor de Gennaro. In other words, what remains of the government unions, the highest representatives of the Azopardo CGT, [as published] as a social, political, and structural support for the ultrapopulist faction of the left. Thus, Miguel was unable to assert his traditional influence over Ubaldini, who was technically his "oratorical invention" ten years ago and who is now being courted by the left-wing language of De Gennaro and Sanchez. He took Ubaldini over to talk with Menem and reportedly left the meeting convinced that the brewery-union leader was prepared to "tow the line" and not hamper any accords that might be reached at that time. His error led to his decision to split the Azopardo faction.

The Olivos meeting had reportedly been scheduled after an overture by Diego Ibanez, who was convinced (as the magazine ULTIMA CLAVE disclosed in its 7 November issue) that he could at least condition, if not control, Miguel's continued presence as head of the not yet revamped "62 Organizations," the last element of the power that used to be in the hands of the veteran metalworkers union leader.

Faced with this prospect (becoming a prisoner of the left and, at the same time, losing his last refuge of power, separated once and for all from Ibanez, his colleague in so many union undertakings), Miguel did not hesitate. Giving up control of one of his political creatures, Ubaldini, was less of a price to pay.

The "Independents" Without a Program

Miguel and, most likely, his three partisans (the Sanitation Workers Union, the employees of ACA [Association of Agricultural Cooperatives], and the grain warehousers) will join the ranks of the "independent sector" that consists of Light and Power (Lescano-Alderete), bank workers (Zanola), mercantile workers (Cavallieri sector), and government oil workers (Ibanez).

The "independent" sector could well be described as a sort of "no man's land" consisting more of outcasts than of those who have something in common or have chosen to join. Their common denominator so far has been their inability to decide which CGT faction to support. They repudiate Andreoni's, even though he enjoys a majority, and cannot make up their mind about Ubaldini, with whom perhaps most of them have more common ground, because his minority status inhibits them.

Such common ground is insufficient to end the isolation that they have chosen so as not to lose their freedom of action in dealing with the particular issues facing Light and Power, which is involved in the difficult negotiations of a contract that has been cited as a distorting factor in many of the services of the electric-power network. Bank employees represent one of the hubs of the crisis in both the public sector, because of the management of state-run banks, and the private sector, owing to the impact of the financial crisis. The membership of the government oil workers union is declining steadily owing to the growth of the other union, the private oil workers, which in turn has few, if any social problems because it is not weighed down by the conflict-ridden bureaucracy that is fed by YPF [Government Oil Deposits]. The mercantile union is in the midst of a head-on battle for leadership between Andreoni and Cavallieri.

Even though a year has now passed since the breakup, these four representatives of the sector that somewhat flippantly calls itself "independent" have not put together a joint program or developed their own leadership; instead, they have zealously guarded their areas of both political and union negotiation and leadership. Although their numbers are large, the same cannot be said of their actual union power. The most telling evidence of this will be supplied by Miguel himself when he joins the "independents." Their power has declined so

much that they will be unable to regain the leadership either of a unified CGT or of any of its surviving components.

Menem's Policy

After the meeting at Olivos with Ubaldini and Miguel, Menem flew off to the Far East, displaying a hint of annoyance at the extent of the half-day work stoppage against his administration, a show of opposition within Peronism to his policies. The annoyed president was presumably well informed about the steps that Miguel would take.

The effects that this new union scenario will have on the program under way, as well as its implicit political repercussions, would seem at first glance to be contradictory. Deep down, however, they reaffirm a policy that gives priority to facts over formalities and to political and social developments over principles.

The CGT, the pillar of power that Juan Peron built to assure his domination of politics, while he destroyed the parties and ignored the constitution, is obviously being dismantled before this sphere has been deregulated and before the impact of union privileges on economic activity has been dampened. Save for halfhearted and almost innocuous restraints in the new employment law, the unions still exercise the excessive powers that the existing Alfonsin law granted them when it legitimized the arrangements that Juan Peron imposed dictatorially in the mid-1940's.

Thus, even though the union machines seem to be racing towards extinction because of their own lack of representativeness and the "palace deals" of their leaders, they are still heavy burdens on the economy as holdovers of the populist institutions that Menem intends to destroy.

Does Menem perhaps intend to "dry up the tree at its roots," as Mohammed advises in a passage of the Koran? These institutions are, in fact, wasting away even though not a single law has put an end to the government's continued feeding of their leadership strata. So then, will what is already happening in practice become the law in a second phase? Is this run-around justified to prevent one front from offering resistance in order to stave off "opposition unity"? Whether or not detailed plans have been drawn up, the effects seem to be moving in this direction.

Today's Work Stoppage

If we are to go by the last-minute decisions of some of the pillars that were supposed to stand behind today's work stoppage and rally, then expectations for the strike seem to be low.

One-third of the delegates of the Ubaldini CGT (the Metalworkers Union and the three associated unions sent one-third of the delegates who voted for the Ubaldini faction at the congress that consolidated the split) also represent a substantial percentage of the machine behind the rally. What is planned for today is a "rally," not a "convocation." Therefore, we can take it for granted that it will be much smaller and will depend mainly on the people under the control of De Gennaro and Sanchez.

By stepping to one side, MAS [Social Affirmation Movement], the leading survivor of the crisis on the left, has confirmed that although many may join in the work stoppage, there will not be enough support for a widespread, representative protest. The decision by MAS to attend the rally shows that it is very fearful that it will be a failure and that it should not be associated with such a union defeat. Oddly enough, however, it is also implicitly acknowledging that it is unable to mobilize a large enough contingent to mitigate the potential failure of a strictly union rally.

Bolivia

Minister's Report on Economic Situation

PY2412003290 La Paz Television Boliviana Network in Spanish 0030 GMT 20 Dec 90

[Excerpts] During a news conference, Minister of the Presidency Gustavo Fernandez Saavedra delivered a report on the country's economic situation. He said that economic stability was achieved in 1990, and an economic takeoff has begun. He also mentioned the Bolivian presence in the international arena. [passage omitted]

[Begin Saavedra recording] I can begin this report by stating that the Bolivian economic takeoff began in 1990. I will mention the reasons for this assertion. I will begin by recalling something that the Bolivian people have personally experienced; namely, without economic stability there can be no growth nor an economic takeoff.

What has been done in 1990 to achieve economic stability? I believe four or five precise, specific points will prove my assertion.

First, Bolivia registered Latin America's lowest inflation rate in 1990. Second, Bolivia registered the highest level in its international reserves for the past 10 years in 1990. Reserves now stand at approximately $207 million, compared to August 1989 when they stood at (?less than) $150 million. Third, deposits in the national banking system stand at $795.4 million, which is the highest level in 10 years. Bolivia reduced its foreign debt by more than $1 billion in 1990. Finally, Bolivia registered Latin America's lowest public sector deficit in 1990. The deficit stood at 3.5 percent of the GDP.

These five or six points clearly prove that in 1990, Bolivia has been able to consolidate its financial and monetary stability, which is a precondition for economic development. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Talks on Institutional Crisis Suspended

PY2412024890 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1814 GMT 21 Dec 90

[Text] La Paz, 21 Dec (EFE)—Leaders from the government and opposition sectors will meet again in January to try to find a solution to the institutional crisis that is affecting the country. Last night they suspended the talks amid mutual charges of intransigence.

At the end of the unsuccessful meeting at the Legislative Palace, Miguel Urioste, Free Bolivia Movement [MBL] deputy, said: "The meeting served to find those guilty for the failure of the meeting."

Congressmen from the MBL, the United Left, the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement [MNR], and the Conscience of the Fatherland held negotiations after a demand oy employers and labor associations, the Catholic Church, and regional civilian institutions. The congressmen invited the ruling parties to join the dialogue.

The agenda of the talks focused on the need to solve the conflict of powers between the judicial branch and the legislative and executive branches, and on the search for a "solution" to the political trial against eight out of the 12 Supreme Court justices charged with malfeasance in office and economic damage to the state.

The other two points of the agenda referred to the creation of impartial electoral courts and to the administrative decentralization project requested by regional institutions known as the "Civic Committee."

Jorge Landivar, leader of the government coalition, said: "The MNR only showed interest in the electoral matter, while they discussed the trial (against the judges) and administrative decentralization in passing."

MNR Deputy Edil Sandoval said: "The official sector forgot that the reason for holding the talks was in response to the people's demand to discuss the institutional crisis caused by the coup against the Supreme Court."

* Economic Stability Seen To Be in Danger

91SM0115A La Paz EL DIARIO in Spanish 18 Nov 90 p 2

[Editorial]

[Text] The country is faced with a far from promising situation at present, one that is shot through with economic, political, and social difficulties, aside from the more or less intrinsic and all too well-known woes in health care, education, and other fields. In economic matters, the U.S. currency continues its slow but steady rise, and at the current pace it will not be long before its value vis-a-vis the Bolivian peso doubles. Moreover, prices in general have not stopped rising; on the contrary, their upward trend is quickening, most recently owing to the hikes in water and power rates, higher prices for fuels that could come at any moment, and smuggling, this time domestic.

As for electric power, the mayor himself has announced a 13 percent increase in rates. The reasons may be as valid as could be, but the hikes come at a bad time, as the citizenry wants to see not further disquieting omens but instead positive assertions and deeds that will help alleviate, not worsen the heavy burden of social anguish. What the citizenry is neither familiar with nor understands is the value and importance of the natural resources that are used to generate electricity. Do they have any value? Of what use are they?

The retaining wall against inflation that has been so laboriously constructed through sacrifices by the people is being battered by the adverse factors mentioned above and could suffer cracks that would be that much more obvious the steeper the upward trend in prices is. The previous government managed to contain disastrous hyperinflation to an extreme that has left a deep impression on individuals, who cannot and must not forget this experience.

Given how events are unfolding in our nation, one need not be a prophet to observe a horizon full of social problems, especially wage-related ones. Official spokesmen reported that the salaries of civil servants would likely rise as 1991 approaches under the new general budget of the nation, which should already be in the drafting process. Nonetheless, the current economic developments may be just short-term. In the medium and long run, prospects are very good. According to official sources, major foreign investment could be forthcoming, and large-scale projects could be undertaken with outside financial backing. The recent negotiations in Paris, where major support was pledged, arouse great hope of real progress for the country. To this we must add the cooperation agreements that have been entered into in recent days.

The Supreme Government is thus faced with immediate problems that will demand reflection and resolve in performing the important task of pursuing viable economic-development plans with the support of foreign financing.

* Banker Notes Concern Over Privatization

91SM0115B La Paz EL DIARIO in Spanish 18 Nov 90 p 7

[Text] The executive president of the Banco de La Paz, Guido Hinojosa, who is also a member of the Board of Directors of the Association of Banks and Financial Institutions of Bolivia (ASOBAN), told EL DIARIO that the government, political groups, and the citizenry in general are concerned about the privatization of state-owned or state-run enterprises.

He added that what needs to be decided first of all is whether privatization will mean, as citizens apparently

believe, that a given enterprise, Lloyd Bolivian Airlines (LAB) for example, will be sold off in its entirety to a foreign company or whether there will be another option, selling shares on the Stock Exchange to any citizen interested in owning part of a state-run enterprise.

The political decision is unquestionably cause for concern, he said. If the first arrangement is chosen, these enterprises will no doubt come under the control of foreign companies, and the decision-making centers will surely be located outside the country. On the other hand, though, there will be an immediate inflow of private foreign capital to strengthen the financial condition of the former state-run firms, improve their management, and achieve appropriate profit margins.

Mr. Hinojosa indicated that under the second arrangement, which would not rule out the involvement of foreign companies, Bolivian citizens at different income levels and with different interests could buy small blocks of stock and thus help turn speculative financial savings, which are currently handled through the Stock Exchange in the form of Central Bank certificates of deposits, into more stable contributions that would come under the category of long-term investment.

"In my judgment," he noted, "this could be an opportunity to fix up the financial market so that the citizenry would accept these transactions as normal, everyday investments for the long term in companies that are obliged to report regularly on their financial status and management through the mass media."

In other words, he said, if LAB were taken as a pilot enterprise for such a privatization, every so often it would have to submit reports on its financial and administrative condition through one of the mass media to all of its shareholders.

This would give rise to a new method of financing, partly with a company's own funds, though not ruling out foreign money, an operation that would be part of the real sphere of the economy for the production of goods and services.

Hinojosa, an economist, stated that an important aspect of this arrangement is that decision-making centers could be kept within the country, because most of the shareholders could be nationals. Nevertheless, he explained, the second alternative does not rule out the possibility of foreign firms buying blocks of shares if they are interested in joint ventures.

He indicated that this arrangement could be of direct help in sharply reducing the speculative investments that would be made at that point, through purchases of Central Bank certificates of deposits, inasmuch as the purpose now is to get a good interest rate from these certificates. Meanwhile, purchases of stocks or bonds would build up long-term investments, subsequently providing for greater stability for those purchasing these instruments at a lower interest rate, but without eliminating the liquidity that an investor may want. In other words, stocks and bonds would have practically the same liquidity, though perhaps somewhat less than the certificates of deposit that are currently traded on the Stock Exchange.

Thus, he emphasized, the country can solve two problems. On the one hand, it can make a habit out of coming up with the investment that is needed by companies that produce goods and social services, and on the other it can reduce the current volume of speculative investment, which amounts to somewhat over $100 million in purchases of certificates of deposit.

* Unemployment Said To Be Under 20 Percent

91SM0115C La Paz PRESENCIA in Spanish
9 Nov 90 p 12

[Text] Unemployment has fallen to less than 20 percent of the labor force. The increase in production and consumption shows that more manpower has been employed in recent months, minister of labor Oscar Zamora, asserted yesterday.

The country's labor force is estimated at 34.1 percent of the nation's total population or about 2.4 million.

He explained that the austerity policies of neighboring countries have been a decisive factor in boosting demand in the country, and domestic goods are even finding improved markets overseas.

Until recently in Bolivia we could buy Peruvian or Brazilian goods for less than domestically produced ones, but now the opposite is true, Zamora said.

"The smuggling of our products is causing all industrial firms to operate at full capacity," he added.

In the minister's judgment, the country is in the midst of a clear-cut recovery in production and economic growth, even though the wages and living conditions of the workers seem to indicate the contrary.

Zamora said that the unemployment rate has dropped to less than 20 percent, the level that we had seen until recently.

Another development that reflects an improved economy is the growth in the construction sector, which has shown up in a striking increase in cement output.

"One of the sectors that have grown most quickly in recent months is small industry and handicrafts. These sectors, which have been a major source of jobs, have made a big leap forward," he said, clarifying that "many of these small industries are not on the books."

According to official data, close to 43 percent of the labor force in the cities is in the category of "underemployed."

* October Inflation Due to External Factors

91SM0115D La Paz HOY in Spanish 11 Nov 90 p 8

[Text] The minister of industry, commerce, and tourism, Guido Cespedes Argandona, explained the October rise in the consumer price index (CPI) as the effect of external and internal factors that can hardly be controlled.

To begin with, he said that one of the most obvious components of inflation in recent months has been imported from our neighbors, Argentina, Brazil, and Peru. By pursuing austerity policies, they have automatically lifted the prices of consumer items above their prevailing levels in Bolivia. This development has prompted heavier demand for goods and the resulting intensification of trade along the borders between Bolivia and these markets.

Another factor that he pointed out had to do with the seasonal nature of agricultural products, though prices tend to level off or decline during the summer harvests.

In conclusion, he mentioned the factor of expectations arising from the Persian Gulf crisis. The sharp upward trend in fuel prices has an impact on the cost of the finished products that Bolivia buys and consequently on the retail prices to consumers.

Bolivia cannot escape these and other factors, he said, because inflationary pressures are not an isolated phenomenon in the country; rather, they affect the entire world.

He added, however, that given its relative advantages, Bolivia is still stable thanks to other positive factors, such as: market expansion in neighboring countries where it can sell its goods, higher production and the resulting expansion of job opportunities, and the current higher prices for nontraditional items.

He mentioned examples such as Sucre, where sweaters and other garments had never before been manufactured. Owing to mounting demand on the Peruvian and Argentine markets, however, in recent months small manufacturers of these items have been putting in up to three work shifts to meet it.

* 1989 Per Capita GDP 27 Percent Under 1980

91SM0113B La Paz PRESENCIA in Spanish 10 Nov 90 p 4

[Text] Bolivia's per capita gross domestic product (GDP) in 1989 was almost 27 percent below what it was in 1980, says an Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) report. Estimates are that the per capita GDP was $881 at the start of the decade and just $646 last year.

The most recent ECLA report on the country adds that GDP per head dropped 0.4 percent in 1989 from the year before. It was the seventh fall in the 1980's.

The section on Bolivia in the economic report on Latin American and the Caribbean indicates that in the midst of a turbulent political climate the economy had inflation under control in 1989, as the country kept improving its foreign trade account, and the slow recovery that began two years before continued.

It recalls that uncertainty about the direction of the new administration's economic policy adversely affected expectations, the most visible manifestation of which were the virtual run on deposits in the June-August quarter.

The trend was reversed, the report continues, when the new authorities reaffirmed the basic direction of the structural-adjustment policy that had been applied since 1985.

To this end the new administration subordinated the management of government finances to the restoration of stability and adopted a monetary policy aimed at shrinking the money supply through open-market operations.

Although these measures had the anticipated effect, the ECLA analysis continues, they also hampered a decline in interest rates, thus weakening the pace of the recovery.

It asserts that priority was attached to preserving macroeconomic balances because the traumatic bouts of hyperinflation that the country had experienced in 1984 and 1985 were still fresh in people's minds.

Moreover, clear-cut symptoms of weakness persisted, such as the large budget deficit and the heavy losses of international reserves. Also, the report adds, mistrust of the national currency was widespread, so much so that a good percentage of the deposits in the banking system were made in foreign currency.

According to ECLA, these adverse factors were compounded by the serious crises suffered by three large neighbors: Argentina, Brazil and Peru, which had a quite significant negative impact on the Bolivian economy.

In conclusion, the report notes that 1989 growth was due mainly to the fact that mining continued the vigorous recovery that it had begun the year before (up 37 percent in the two year period). The manufacturing industry, construction, and basic services grew to a lesser extent. Agricultural output, in contrast, posted a major drop as a result of poor weather.

* COMIBOL Seeks Mineral Development Capital

91SM0113D La Paz HOY in Spanish 21 Nov 90 p 5

[Text] Oruro, 20 Nov (HOY)—As part of the policy that the Ministry of Mining is supporting and spurring, the Mining Corporation of Bolivia (COMIBOL) is seeking more financing, whether foreign or domestic, to develop national mining while preserving the State's priority rights.

Walter Soriano Lea Plaza, the minister of mining and metallurgy, feels that this is a good policy, inasmuch as the contracts that were recently signed and are being executed fully are yielding favorable results.

The policy that the mining and metallurgy minister has set will not work unless a program to reorganize the ministry is carried forward, he says.

Lea Plaza wants to continue incorporating new methods, systems, and technological processes into mining and metallurgical operations in order to further improve productivity, while providing the necessary industrial safeguards and environmental protection.

He then indicated that as part of this overhaul of mining, ongoing improvements in the social conditions of the workers and their families are not being neglected, as educational, health-care, recreational, and cultural services are being updated and streamlined.

Another goal is to use the surpluses from mining and metallurgical operations to finance projects to expand and diversify output and social services for the workers.

The project to strengthen the mining sector, the basic objective of which is structural change to modernize government-run mining, is receiving $126 million in financial assistance from the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, friendly governments, and support from domestic institutions and the Treasury. This aid will also go toward the organizational and functional revamping of the Ministry of Mining and Metallurgy, COMIBOL, the Bolivian Geological Service, the Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Research, and the Mining Bank and toward the creation of the Technical Service of Mine Registry.

He noted that small-scale and cooperative-based mining would be receiving $7 million in financing under the project, the negotiations for which are at an advanced stage with the World Bank.

Brazil

Government 'Upset' by Suriname Coup

PY2712161490 Madrid EFE in English 1548 GMT 27 Dec 90

[Text] Brasilia, 27 Dec (EFE)—The Brazilian government said Thursday it was "upset" by the Christmas Eve military coup in neighboring Suriname, but promising not to interfere. [sentence as received]

In a brief statement, the Foreign Ministry said "Brazil holds to the principle of non-intervention in the affairs of other states, but on the other hand it can only be upset by developments that set friendly countries at a far remove from democratic procedures." [sentence as received]

On Monday, Army commander Ivan Graanoogst an ally of military strongman Desi Bouterse, led a coup that overthrew Suriname's civilian President Ramweak Shankar.

'Text' of Foreign Ministry Note

PY2812012690 Brasilia Domestic Service in Portuguese 2100 GMT 27 Dec 90

[Gustavo Mariani report from Brasilia]

[Text] The Foreign Ministry has expressed concern about events in Suriname, a country that borders Para State to the north. Itamaraty has released an official note expressing the hope that the situation in the neighboring country will return to normal in the shortest possible time.

This is the text of the note: The Brazilian Government has received with concern the news that the institutional order has been ruptured in the neighboring Republic of Suriname, with the downfall of the government of President Ramsewak Shankar.

Brazil remains loyal to the principle of nonintervention in the internal affairs of other states; on the other hand, it cannot help being concerned about events representing a departure from democratic procedures in a friendly country.

In this situation, the Brazilian Government voices its hope that democratic normalcy will return to the territory of Suriname in the shortest time possible.

Iranian Deputy Petroleum Minister Visits

PY2012134090 Sao Paulo FOLHA DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 16 Dec 90 p B 21

[From the Rio de Janeiro bureau]

[Text] Iranian Petroleum Deputy Minister Mehdi Karbasian yesterday said that his country wants to purchase more Brazilian products—capital goods, primarily—but the lack of funds with which to finance the Brazilian exporting companies is making negotiations difficult.

Karbasian has been in Brazil since 10 December. He is heading an eight-member delegation that came to become assess Brazil's industry potential. This visit complements a visit made by a delegation headed by Infrastructure Minister Ozires Silva to Iran during November.

Creditor Banks To Receive Interest Payment

PY2612135090 Brasilia Radio Nacional da Amazonia Network in Portuguese 0900 GMT 26 Dec 90

[Text] (Toshiro Kobayashi), the chairman of the holding company that represents the Bank of Tokyo in Brazil, has stated that during January the creditor banks will

begin to receive payments of 30 percent of the foreign debt interest rate as it falls due. They will receive it whether they agree or not.

(Kobayashi) feels that the payment of $479 million, which represents 30 percent of what Brazil must pay between January and March 1991, is politically very good. (Kobayashi) said that the payment of debt interest that fell due in 1990, which he estimates at $8 billion, will be resubmitted to negotiations.

The Japanese banker added that a broad agreement will probably be reached by March 1991 regarding the foreign debt, and that new resources will then be forthcoming.

Payments to International Organizations Overdue

PY2312011290 Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 10 Dec 90 p 20

[Summary] Brazil's membership payments to the International Cocoa Organization, OIC, and the International Sugar Organization, ISO, are overdue. Overdue payments to the OIC total $480,000, and overdue payments to the ISO $132,000. Nevertheless, Brazil was elected to the executive committees of both organizations.

Collor Approves Amazon Forest Centers

PY2212135290 Brasilia Domestic Service in Portuguese 2100 GMT 17 Dec 90

[By Luis Augusto Mendonca from Planalto Palace]

[Text] President Fernando Collor has approved establishing a system of forest centers in the eastern part of the Amazon Region. Infrastructure Minister Ozires Silva submitted the reasons for creating these areas to Collor today.

The objective of the Amazon Region forest centers [Polos Florestais na Amazonia] program is to start a new environmental policy aimed at preserving the region. The program's central focus will be the area crossed by the Carajas railway. After meeting with President Fernando Collor at Planalto Palace, Minister Silva reported that the program will cover 250,000 square km, which is as large as France [as heard]. He said:

[Begin recording] We will develop elements for economic exploitation of the area while we preserve the environment at the same time. Over 30 percent of this area will be earmarked for preservation of the existing forest and the preparation of natural forests on riverbanks to prevent erosion and other ecological problems caused by rivers. Foreign businessmen, as well as Brazilian businessmen, will cooperate extensively in this program. On one hand, the businessmen are interested in economic exploitation of the region and, on the other hand, they are interested in preserving the environment. [end recording]

The government intends to reforest 1 million hectares and preserve nearly 300,000 hectares of forest over 10 years. The date for the beginning of the program has not yet been set, but it will be launched by President Collor as soon as the Foundation for the Preservation of the Amazon Region Environment [Fundacao de Preservacao do Meio Ambiente da Amazonia] is created. National and foreign private companies, as well as the Rio Doce Valley Company, will take part in this foundation.

Reduction of Forest Burning in Amazon Noted

PY2212010290 Brasilia Domestic Service in Portuguese 2100 GMT 21 Dec 90

[Text] Tania Munhoz, president of IBAMA [Brazilian Institute for Environmental Affairs and Renewable Resources], has reported that the burning of forest area in the Amazon decreased 50 percent this year in comparison to 1989.

Munhoz positively assessed IBAMA's work this year. She emphasized the importance of control operations in the Amazon—the organization was able to reduce the cutting of trees by 50 percent in the central Amazon region and by 70 percent in other Amazon regions in comparison with last year. She also reported that IBAMA collected the equivalent of $9 million in fines. Munhoz added that she was very optimistic about the work to be done next year.

Colonel Arrested for Criticizing Government

PY2312224690 Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 15 Dec 90 p 4

[Text] Sao Luis—On the morning of 14 December, Army Minister Carlos Tinoco ordered the incarceration of Army Reserve Colonel Marcio Matos Viana Pereira, who was arrested at his home in the Turu neighborhood of this capital. Viana Pereira wrote a long article that was published in the TRIBUNA DA IMPRENSA, CORREIO BRASILIENSE, O IMPARCIAL, and O ESTADO DE MARANHAO newspapers. In the article, he criticized the posture of the current government, which "reacted with unusual violence" in ordering his arrest for four days in September 1990 because of another article in which he attacked the economic policy and the deterioration of salaries for federal government employees, especially the military.

This time Viana Pereira will remain under arrest in a garrison for eight days; he will be released on 24 December. The military man's lawyer, Jose Antonio de Almeida e Silva, already had submitted a preventive writ of habeas corpus to the courts. The writ was not studied due to a lack of time, although it was submitted in order to prevent Viana Pereira's arrest. On the night of 13 December, he was informed by the Amazonia Military Command that he had been placed under arrest for eight days.

Minister Reports on Surplus, Tax Collection

PY2412172490 Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 22 Dec 90 p 31

[Summary] Brasilia—Economy Minister Zelia Cardoso de Mello has reported that the Brazilian public sector (consisting of the central government, state-owned companies, and the social security sector) has obtained record fiscal results. Through the program aimed at cutting expenses and increasing tax collection, the government succeeded in saving 12.6 percent of the GDP, which is equivalent to 4.19 trillion cruzeiros. In March, the operational deficit was calculated at nine percent. In September, this deficit became a surplus equalling 3.6 percent of the GDP. The minister believes, however, that the operational surplus for 1990 will remain at more than 0.5 percent of the GDP.

Jan-Nov Treasury Surplus Reported

PY2312024690 Brasilia Radio Nacional da Amazonia Network in Portuguese 0900 GMT 21 Nov 90

[Text] The national treasury registered a surplus of 125 billion cruzeiros between January and November, although November was the treasury's worst month in terms of activity. Expenditures between January and November totaled 3.5 trillion cruzeiros. Of this total, 37 percent was spent to pay the salaries of public employees.

November Imports Reach Record High

PY2312233890 Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 18 Dec 90 p 1

[Text] Brazilian imports for November reached $2.246 billion, a record in the history of Brazil's foreign trade. This was the result of an increase in petroleum imports, which reached $662 million for the month. According to an assessment by the Trade Coordination Board (CIC) [Coordenadoria de Intercambio Commercial], imports continued to increase even after the jump in the exchange rate over the past 60 days, which caused purchases abroad to be more expensive. Exports in November also increased a little; they reached $2.652 billion. With this, the trade balance surplus was $406 million, higher than the $223 million recorded in October, but far lower than the monthly average of $1 billion over the past five years.

Central Bank Notes Increase in Monetary Base

PY2012012890 Sao Paulo FOLHA DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 7 Dec 90 p B 9

[Summary] The Central Bank has reported that the monetary base—the amount of money in circulation and bank reserves in the Central Bank—increased 11.6 percent in November after falling 0.2 percent in October. The monetary base at the end of November was 1.26 trillion cruzeiros. Operations with government certificates were the main reason for the increase.

Poll Shows 75 Percent Support Collor

PY2312213090 Brasilia Domestic Service in Portuguese 2100 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Summary] Today the IBOPE [Brazilian Public Opinion and Statistics Institute] released the results of recent polls. According to polls conducted 3-10 December—in which some 3,650 people were interviewed country-wide—75 percent of the people support President Fernando Collor. In the northern and central-western regions, 80 percent of the people support him. As for the government's economic policy, 36 percent of the people believe the policy is correct. Some 62 percent of the people believe Brazil must pay its foreign debt with whatever surplus money it obtains in the fiscal year or after reaching agreements with the creditors.

The people were also asked about strikes: 36 percent of the people are against any type of strike, and 30 percent are in favor of strikes. About 58 percent of the people trust President Collor, but 88 percent of the people distrust politicians in general, and 77 percent distrust the political parties. According to the poll, 78 percent of the people trust the Catholic Church, and 58 percent of them trust the radio.

Piaui State Employees Waiting for Salaries

PY2312235890 Brasilia Radio Nacional da Amazonia Network in Portuguese 0900 GMT 21 Dec 90

[Text] Piaui State employees will have a Christmas without their year-end bonus and their October, November, and December salaries. According to Finance Secretary Francisco Braganza, the overdue salaries will be paid on 3 January.

The situation in the state is bad because there are employees who have not yet received their September salaries.

Several sectors of public employees have gone on strike demanding their back pay, including teachers, who have been on strike for more than 100 days and the school year has been lost. A teacher in Piaui earns 3,400 cruzeiros, according to the Association of Piaui Teachers president, Joao de Deus Souza.

Health employees, who were also on strike, have returned to work with the promise that their September salaries will be paid.

Lloyd Brasileiro Company To Be Denationalized

PY2012011490 Rio de Janeiro Rede Globo Television in Portuguese 2200 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] The Brazilian official gazette today published a provisional measure issued by the government establishing that the Brazilian navigation company Lloyd Brasileiro will be dismantled or denationalized.

Infrastructure Minister Ozires Silva has said that the best solution would be to denationalize the company. He

added, however, that Lloyd Brasileiro has so many debts that it may have to be dismantled.

Chile

Defense Minister on Civilian-Military Relations

PY2712221090 Santiago Radio Chilena Network in Spanish 1600 GMT 27 Dec 90

[Text] Defense Minister Dr. Patricio Rojas today said that despite the obstacles in relations between civilians and the military, we will never be afraid to begin anew, and we will never—he stressed—begin anything out of fear.

The minister delivered a speech at a ceremony in which Army General Luis Henriquez Riffo was sworn in as the new chief of the National Defense Staff for 1991. Gen. Riffo is the first chief of staff designated by the democratic government.

During the ceremony, which began at noon in the Blue Hall of the Diego Portales building, the minister stressed that Chileans want peace, truth, and reconciliation through justice.

[Begin Rojas recording] We will never be afraid to begin anew, yet we will never begin a new path out of fear. True leaders are those who lead their people in conformance with the expectations of the vast majority. As a representative of a legitimate government that was elected by the people, I believe I can say that Chileans want peace, agreement, stable jobs, and reconciliation.

We should also link those aspirations with the desire of Chileans to know the truth along the path of justice, to reach reconciliation and forgiveness. [end recording]

The minister said that one of the four tasks of the new chief of staff will be to promote relations between civilians and the military. He said there are plans to promote academic activities, although—he said—this should be done strictly in an atmosphere of freedom, in which all of us should be able to give our opinions on defense matters without fearing that we will be misinterpreted or that we will jeopardize institutions.

The minister said that despite the difficulties, the balance of relations between civilians and the military in 1990 is positive, taking into account the special features of the Chilean transition toward democracy.

I strongly wish that in Chile we may soon reach a stage in which there will be mutual feelings of appreciation, confidence, and respect between the people and the Armed Forces, the minister concluded.

Jarpa on Mediation Between Government, Army

PY2512022490 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 2200 GMT 24 Dec 90

[Text] National Renewal Senator Sergio Onofre Jarpa said today that despite the fact that his mediation between the government and the Army was not successful, it was an important rapproachement that will be fruitful in the near future.

This is how Jarpa answered criticism from Cristia Labbe, former government secretary general in the Pinochet administration, who said Jarpa's unofficial contacts were useless. Jarpa said the mediation was good and could have had better results. He pointed out that contacts such as this are not always easy, but when one acts with patriotism, one ends up with peace of mind.

Jarpa does not believe Defense Minister Patricio Rojas is creating problems for the Army and gave Rojas' defense of the Army budget in Congress as an example.

CPPD, Party Leaders Support Government

PY2212213090 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 2200 GMT 21 Dec 90

[Text] The Coalition of Parties for Democracy [CPPD] has pronounced the confinement of troops to be an unwarranted and unacceptable obstacle in the process of civilian and military reconciliation. This public declaration was signed by all the parties in the coalition for democracy except the MAPU [United Popular Action Movement] Workers-Peasants group and the PADENA [National Democratic Party], which were absent from the previous meeting.

Senator Andres Saldivar, president of the Christian Democratic Party, noted that he cannot determine if there were winners and losers in the military act and that the public should make its own evaluation of what happened on 19 December. Socialist Party President Jorge Rattes said he considers the explanations given by the Army commander in chief unsatisfactory. Also, the bloc of (?DP) deputies agreed that the explanations given for the readiness and liaison exercise are unsatisfactory. They said the congressmen will continue to carry out the oversight duties entrusted to them by the Constitution.

Poll Shows Majority Supports Democracy

PY2612235490 Santiago Radio Chilena Network in Spanish 1600 GMT 26 Dec 90

[Excerpts] A poll by the Center for Contemporary Reality Studies [CERC] has revealed that 53.2 percent of the population considers the government's performance over the past nine months to be good. CERC Director Marta Lagos reported that 1,500 people over 18 were polled between 11 and 20 December 1990 in 29 Chilean cities. The poll concluded that only 39.8 percent of the

people consider the government's performance mediocre, while five percent believe that it has been bad. [passage omitted]

[Begin Lagos recording] After nine months of democracy, we asked Chileans whether they are satisfied. We found that the vast majority of Chileans are strongly in favor of democracy. While 75.7 percent of the people are satisfied with democracy, only 21.4 are dissatisfied. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Official Links Drug Trafficking, Mussel Fishing

PY2312012090 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2028 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Santiago, 14 Dec (EFE)—Chilean Fisheries Under Secretary Andres Couve has reported that drug trafficking is financing the illegal fishing of Chilean mussels. Fishing for these mussels, which are highly valued abroad, has been temporarily banned. In remarks published in the local press in Puerto Montt, 1,064 km south of Santiago, Couve said that there is a very close link between mussel fishing and cocaine trafficking.

The official stressed that young fishermen in the regions of Arica and Antofagasta, in northern Chile on the border with Peru, receive drugs instead of money as payment. He added that the fishermen who receive the cocaine are willing to violate any kind of rule or regulation to obtain it.

Couve indicated that the mussels are smuggled into neighboring countries and later returned to Chilean ports in their manufactured form.

On several occasions Chilean police have discovered cargoes of cocaine in illegal shipments of mussels, especially in the area of Arica, a port on the border with Peru and a new but increasingly active drug-trafficking center in Chile.

Two years ago the government decreed a strict ban on mussel fishing because the organism was in danger of becoming extinct because of indiscriminate fishing.

According to Couve, this measure must be suspended temporarily to stop the drug trafficking associated with this activity and to ease the situation of the 20,000 persons who live off mussel fishing.

Three FPMR Members Arrested, Explosives Seized

PY2212003090 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 2200 GMT 21 Dec 90

[Text] The Office of the Carabineros Third Zone, Central, has confirmed the arrest of three members of the terrorist Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front [FPMR] who have participated in various terrorist acts. They have been identified as Juana Loaiza Machuca, 35; Pablo Hernandez Munoz, 22; and Cesar Enrique Diaz Arriegada, 35.

The detainees admitted to being members of and collaborators with the FPMR. In an official communique, the police noted that a quantity of explosives and FPMR literature was seized during the arrests, including 20 kg of anfo [ammonium nitrate-fuel oil blasting agent], 16 electric and mechanical detonators, 10 AKA rifle magazines, 38 AKA rifle cartridges, and 62 meters of detonator cord.

The Carabineros pointed out that it is possible that the detainees participated in the actions in which museum employee Jose Luna was killed. A prosecutor will determine their participation in those actions.

The detainees and material seized have been turned over to the office of the prosecutor.

Details of Arrests of 'Extremists,' Confiscations

PY2212224090 Santiago Radio Chilena Network in Spanish 1600 GMT 21 Dec 90

[Text] According to a police report, the arrests of Carlos Roberto Ojeda Rosas, Mario Enrique Soto Valdebenito, and others have led to the confiscation of 20 kg of anfo [ammonium nitrate-fuel oil blasting agent], 25 kg of saltpeter, a homemade trailer, detonators, antipersonnel mines, batteries for electric detonators, backpacks, and other equipment.

In the course of the investigation and in keeping with an order issued by the Talca military court, a link has been uncovered between extremists in Talca and Curico. Thus, after finding a buried case containing the aforementioned items, on 13 December police forces raided a house in the Molina neighborhood and arrested Juana Loayza Machuca.

In another raid on a building at 1751 Oscar Corman Street, the police arrested Paulo Hernandez Munoz, 22. Luis Antonio Gonzalez, 27, a single man, escaped through the back door when he realized that the police had arrived.

Gonzalez went into No. 1721 on the same bloc and took two-year-old Mario Vidal Aliaga hostage. When they realized what was happening, the police tried to convince the extremist to give up. In response, the terrorist opened fire on Second Corporal Jorge Proboste Alarcon of the Curico Police, seriously wounding him in the left hand.

Despite this reaction, the police again tried to convince the terrorist to release the child. The terrorist responded by throwing a bomb down to the ground floor of the building he was in, starting a fire that spread to other buildings in the area because Gonzalez refused to allow firemen into the area.

The police reported that the minor was finally rescued. The people arrested and the materiel seized have been placed at the disposal of the Curico military court.

Four Alleged FPMR Members Arrested by Police

PY2612231890 Santiago Radio Chilena Network in Spanish 1600 GMT 26 Dec 90

[Excerpt] Four alleged members of the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front [FPMR]—two of them reportedly charged with masterminding and carrying out the escape of 49 subversive prisoners from the former public prison on 29 January 1990—have been arrested by Carabineros Intelligence Directorate personnel in the La Florida neighborhood.

The detainees were identified as Miguel Armando Montesinos Montesinos, 31, who has taken university classes but has no profession; (Yuri Aliro Vargas Araya), 26, who received a high school education but has no profession; Elias Daniel Contreras Munoz, 22, who received a high school education but has no profession; and Cecilia Isabel Vargas Cornejo, 36, a teacher with university training.

This information was released during a news conference by Colonel Rodolfo Reyes, second commander of the Carabineros Metropolitan Zone. [passage omitted]

Former Communists Call For Dissolution of Front

PY2612235890 Santiago EL MERCURIO in Spanish 19 Dec 90 p C 3

[Excerpt] Former Communist militants Antonio Leal and Sergio Vuskovic have asked the Communist Party [as published] [PC] to dissolve the Manuel Rodriguez Front [as published] [FMR].

In a public declaration, the former militants said: "The PC should contribute to dissolving the FMR in order to allow the hundreds of young people who courageously fought the dictatorship to start a new life and reinsert themselves into political life to strengthen the current transition and broaden the struggle for the interests of the workers and the people."

They also publicly announced that they are aware that the PC military apparatus has plans "to persecute and slander people like us who are dissidents because of disagreements with the current party leadership." [passage omitted]

Former Communist Party Members Join PPD

PY2312020890 Santiago Radio Chilena Network in Spanish 1600 GMT 21 Dec 90

[Text] Led by Patricio Hales and Patricio Varela, 26 former militants of the Chilean Communist Party have officially joined the Party for Democracy [PPD]. They were formally welcomed by PPD Chairman [title as heard] Erich Schnake and other PPD leaders, including Laura Soto, Marco Nunez, and Victor Manuel Rebolledo.

Erich Schnake pointed out that these new members, by joining the PPD, have acknowledged the party's loyalty to its principles, its ability to create its own doctrine, and its broad-mindedness.

Speaking on behalf of the former Communist Party members, Patricio Hales described the occasion as meaningful and moving.

[Begin Hales recording] We are very happy to be here. I would like to thank the party president for his welcome. I simply want to express my gratitude for this welcome without going into our ideas and thoughts, which we will be able to develop further thanks to this party's ability to encourage freedom of thought among those who come from different political groups and have different leanings. [end recording]

Hales stated that the group of former Communist Party militants have found in the PPD the freedom to develop their own ideas and thoughts because the PPD does not enforce fixed ideological limits on its members.

In response to a call by PPD Secretary General [title as heard] Sergio Bittar, the 26 new members signed the official party register.

Former Minister Allowed To Return From Exile

PY2612234090 Santiago Radio Chilena Network in Spanish 1600 GMT 26 Dec 90

[Text] Retired General Sergio Poblete, a former minister in Salvador Allende's administration, who has lived in Belgium as a political refugee since 1974, has been allowed to return to Chile.

Chilean diplomatic sources said in Belgium that the Chilean Foreign Ministry has restored Poblete's citizenship and returned his passport in order for him to return. Poblete was jailed after the military coup of 11 September 1973 and expelled in 1974. Since that time he has been reporting human rights violations in Chile.

New Industrial Confederation President Named

PY2712235890 Santiago Domestic Service in Spanish 2200 GMT 27 Dec 90

[Summary] Businessman Jose Antonio Guzman has been elected president of the Production and Commerce Confederation. He replaces Manuel Feliu, who held the post for four years.

Civil Aeronautics Director Installed

PY2312015490 Santiago LA TERCERA DE LA HORA in Spanish 8 Dec 90 p 14

[Summary] On 7 December, Brigadier General Jose de la Fuente Banegas of the Chilean Air Force (FACh) assumed the post of director general of civil aeronautics. He replaced FACh Brigadier General Lautaro Greenhill Morales. The installation ceremony was held in the

auditorium of the General Directorate of Civil Aeronautics at Arturo Merino Benitez Airport.

UN To Receive Human Rights 'Special Report'

PY2712002090 Santiago Radio Cooperativa Network in Spanish 2200 GMT 26 Dec 90

[Excerpt] Roberto Garreton, Foreign Ministry adviser on human rights affairs, has announced that the Chilean Government will submit a special report to the United Nations on progress made in the human rights field during the democratic period.

Garreton said that the report will be delivered to the UN Human Rights Commission, which meets annually in January, February, and March.

During the past 16 years, reports on Chile usually prompted condemnatory resolutions against the Chilean Government for cases of human rights violations, which had become systematic. According to Garreton, the United Nations will never again receive reports on human rights violations in Chile. Instead, it will receive a confidential report, a special report drawn up by the democratic Chilean Government on progress made and the changes that have taken place for human dignity in the country during the first year of government. [passage omitted]

Agreement To Restructure Debt Signed

PY2212230090 Santiago EL MERCURIO in Spanish 13 Dec 90 pp A 1, A 12

[By correspondent Maria Isabel Seguel]

[Excerpts] New York—In a ceremony yesterday at the Manufacturers Hanover Bank in New York, Chile and creditor representatives signed an agreement to restructure the country's debt to foreign commercial banks, extending the payment of $1.822 billion that was to be paid between 1991 and 1994.

The foreign debt to commercial banks totals some $4.8 billion. There are approximately 21 debtors in this area, including 11 banks, enterprises such as Codelco [Copper Corporation], Colbun [expansion unknown], and Enami [National Mining Enterprise], and the Central Bank, which accounts for 40 percent of the debt. [passage omitted]

The agreement with the bank committee reads as follow:

"1. To extend or reschedule the maturity dates for capital amortizations and the grace periods for principal repayment by reprogramming the so-called "new money" [preceding two words in English] agreements of 1983, 1984, and 1985 and the debt restructuring contracts of 1983-84 and 1985-91.

"2. To extend the current 'retiming' [preceding word in English] mechanism for the payment of interest, under which interest payments will be made once a year in accordance with the agreements mentioned in the previous paragraph.

"3. To amend the terminology (or clauses) of the country's credit agreements to increase Chile's flexibility in relation to the many provisions or conditions for debt reduction operations.

"4. To extend the short-term commercial credit facilities (for foreign trade operations) under conditions similar to the ones in effect for an additional year; that is, to cover foreign trade credit operations granted in 1991."

These agreements do not affect the clauses in effect in the "spreads" [preceding word in English] of the debt contracts mentioned in Item 1.

Chile has not requested changes in the payment schedule or the "retiming" of current co-financing agreements with the World Bank. [passage omitted]

Foreign Minister Signs Agreement With EEC

PY2112173290 Santiago Radio Chilena Network in Spanish 1600 GMT 20 Dec 90

[Text] Today in Rome, Chile and the EEC signed a basic cooperation agreement that will help strengthen political and economic relations between Chile and the EEC. The agreement was signed during a recess of the meeting of the Rio Group and EEC foreign ministers being held in Rome.

The cooperation agreement was signed by Italian Foreign Minister Gianni De Michelis and Abel Matutes, Spanish member of the European Community Commission, on behalf of the EEC, and by Foreign Minister Enrique Silva Cimma on behalf of the Chilean Government.

Minister Details $525 Million in Foreign Aid

PY2712135890 Santiago EL MERCURIO in Spanish 19 Dec 90 p A1, A15

[Summary] In a ceremony held at La Moneda Palace on 18 December, Planning and Coordination Minister Sergio Molina reported that during the first nine months of President Patricio Aylwin's administration Chile obtained $525 million in foreign aid.

He explained that $262 million are non-reimbursable loans and that the remaining $263 million will be repaid under extremely favorable conditions.

Minister Molina added that $37 million was obtained from EEC countries, UN development programs, and other UN agencies; while $488 million was obtained from friendly European nations, Japan, and the United States. He concluded by saying that the funds were assigned to Chilean Government priority projects that include housing and health programs.

The aid obtained by Chile consisted of:

$72 million from France;
$65 million from Germany;
$56 million from Spain;
$45 million from Sweden;
$42 million from the United States;
$40.5 million from Italy;
$40 million from Switzerland;
$22 million from the Netherlands;
$10 million from Belgium;
$8 million from Denmark;
$6 million from Japan;
$5 million from Norway;
$2 million from Canada; and
$1 million from the United Kingdom.

* Ambassador on Changing OAS Role

91SM0117A Santiago LA NACION in Spanish
18 Nov 90 pp 4-5

[Report on interview with OAS Ambassador Heraldo Munoz by Leonardo Caceres; from Washington, D.C.; date not given]

[Text] The days when the OAS was the United States' "Colonial Ministry" are long gone. But the organization's headquarters is still in Washington, although the colorful and loquacious parrots that used to adorn the garden of the main building in Washington are no longer there.

Nonetheless, this is an institution that at best is going through a period of prolonged convalescence. To help it survive, a team of "superbrains" from all over the Americas met during the first week of November. It was called a "reflection group," and it was made up of 12 people from various countries.

The most prominent names are Gabriel Valdes, president of the Chilean Senate and former foreign minister of our country; Eduardo Angeloz, governor of the Argentine province of Cordoba and former presidential candidate of the Radical Civic Union (UCR) party; former President of Mexico Miguel de la Madrid; Peruvian Senator Andres Townsend; and former Brazilian Foreign Minister Mario Barbosa.

After three days of closed-door discussions, the experts reached a single conclusion: They must meet again. And in June of next year they will submit to the OAS General Assembly, which will meet in Santiago, a plan to redesign the foundations of the organization.

One of the promoters of the "reflection group" is Chilean Ambassador Heraldo Munoz, 41, married to a New Yorker and the father of an eight year old daughter. He is a political scientist who holds doctorates from several Chilean and American universities.

He has been ambassador since 1 April of this year ("I was able to leave quickly because I didn't even need an *agrement*; my accreditation with the OAS General Secretariat was enough.") During these seven months, he has managed to make a drastic change in Chile's image in the regional body.

[Caceres] What has been the most important aspect of this change in image, in your opinion?

[Munoz] In the first place, on the matter of human rights we went from the defendant's seat to a seat on the inter-American commission investigating violations of these rights.

It is no secret that Chile now projects a very positive image because of the restoration of democracy. And that has helped us win for the country an important presence in decisive posts. To name just three, Maria Teresa Chadwick was appointed to the Inter-American Commission on Women; Dr. Jorge Jimenez, our health minister, was elected to the executive committee of the Pan-American Health Organization; and I have been honored with the chairmanship of the OAS Environmental Committee.

[Caceres] The Organization of American States (OAS) has been scorned by many Latin Americans, primarily because an organization that encompasses rich and poor, north and south, United States and Latin America is considered inviable in that their problems are so different and they agree so little on possible solutions. What future do you see for the inter-American system, and therefore for the OAS?

[Munoz] The inter-American system is a completely relevant idea. The problem is, the OAS needs to be renovated because times have changed. Now it is a matter of establishing a new OAS for the new times.

The challenge we face today is very interesting: The cold war is over, and along with it went the primary motivation of the organization, the cold war itself. For many years the organization was perceived as a key instrument in the hemisphere's arsenal for the East-West confrontation.

Now that the cold war is gone, we must decide whether we need an organization in which the United States, Canada, the Caribbean, and Latin America can all be together. The answer we have heard from the countries so far has been affirmative: Yes, we need an organization of dialogue, a forum for understanding, cooperation, and intra-hemispheric negotiation.

[Caceres] And what must be done so that the OAS will really become the forum you describe?

[Munoz] This is the challenge: to renovate the OAS so that it will become an effective forum for discussing relevant issues. And when I say that I am referring to the need to set a new inter-American agenda on which, at least in Chile's opinion, the principal points of discussion must be the following:

- Democracy and human rights, particularly because of our experience, but also because the OAS has been

effective in the area of protecting human rights in recent times.

- Second, trade. The OAS must serve as a forum for the discussion of the major trade issues in the hemisphere, especially now that the United States is proposing the Initiative for the Americas or the Bush Plan, which involves a reorientation of hemispheric economic relations.
- Third, drug trafficking, which is a transnational matter that affects not only consumers and producers, but also countries that serve as transit points. In general, it involves all of the Americas.
- Fourth, the environment, a topic that is truly of common interest; countries cannot solve these problems in isolation.
- And finally, education, science, and culture, areas in which the OAS has historically been effective: instruction, training, scholarship programs—these have helped the region and should be strengthened for the future.

[Caceres] In what areas do you think the OAS has failed in recent times?

[Munoz] The OAS has certainly not done all that it could, or all that could be expected of it, in supporting democracies. It has also done very little with regard to the environment, and it has squandered resources on initiatives that other organizations could undertake and carry out more efficiently and with better results.

Heraldo Munoz is happy that this year, for the first time in many years, the OAS did not pass a single resolution on Bolivia's maritime aspirations. He reports that he had to engage in a fierce battle with Canada to have the next General Assembly meet in Chile, in Santiago and Vina del Mar.

[Caceres] You have said that the OAS has not been as effective as expected in the defense and promotion of democracy. How can this situation change?

[Munoz] In fact it has already changed. In the last few months the OAS played a very important role as an observer in the Nicaraguan elections, and later in the disarmament of the Contras in that same country. In addition, observer missions were sent to oversee elections in the Dominican Republic and Honduras.

Now the OAS is preparing the elections in Haiti, which will take place in mid-December. Several countries, among them Chile, will send electoral specialists, under the auspices of the OAS, to help a country that has no experience in this field.

[Caceres] And in the cultural sphere, has Chile's image in the United States changed?

[Munoz] Without a doubt. Recently a seminar was held in Washington on the situation of the Latin American film industry, organized by the Inter-American Development Bank, and our country was present there. We also participated in the film festival organized by the OAS, where we presented Silvio Caiozzi's film "The Moon in the Mirror" at the Kennedy Center in the U.S. capital. After the showing, actress Gloria Munchmeyer, who traveled there just to be present at the festival, received an award on behalf of the film's director.

At the same time, Chilean actors Marcelo Gaete and Sara Astica, who live in Costa Rica, went to Washington to present the work of Juan Radrigan, "The Crazy One and the Sad One." And Hector Noguera came with his company to put on another play, while the Inti Illimani gave a magnificent recital before a full house at the theater of Georgetown University in Washington.

All of this will give you an idea of the prominence Chile has attained in cultural matters. Our country is no longer in the headlines because of human rights violations, but the most important mass media devote plenty of space to other issues that are extraordinarily positive.

[Caceres] You have also been involved with the General Assembly of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council (IA-ECOSOC).

[Munoz] The 20th General Assembly of the IA-ECOSOC and of the Special Consultation and Negotiation Commission (CECON) of the OAS was held recently in Washington, where important agreements on hemispheric cooperation were adopted. The most important one was to request that the U.S. Government move quickly to complete its review of the petitions to restore preferential benefits under the General System of Preferences to OAS member states that are currently excluded, among them Chile.

This agreement was adopted unanimously, and it represents important support for our country's situation.

In addition to his work as ambassador, Heraldo Munoz cannot abandon his profession as an international analyst. From his office in Washington, he is anxiously following the development of the crisis in the Gulf, although he does not believe there will be a war.

[Caceres] Do you think the United States would benefit from a war in the Gulf?

[Munoz] I don't think so. The United States could earn domestic political dividends from an easy war. But this one is not easy. Here we have a war machine that has already been proven in a long war against Iran. The battle conditions are adverse, and the action would take place on distant territory. In my opinion, this would not be an easy war.

* Declining Influence of Catholic Church Viewed

91SM0119A Santiago QUE PASA in Spanish
12 Nov 90 pp 17-19

[Article by Daniel Seisdedos]

[Text] Incapable of reversing the rising tide of Protestant groups (also called Evangelical), the hierarchy of the

Chilean Catholic Church has just discovered that its loss of ground, in terms of both quantity and quality of parishioners, is worse than the most pessimistic predictions. The latest indication that the idea of Chile as a Catholic country is only a half truth has come from the CEP-Adimark poll taken in October. The figures are bitter for the Vatican: In terms of quality, the survey reveals that only 20 percent of those who consider themselves Catholics go to mass at least once a week. The Archbishopric of Santiago has even more pessimistic figures. According to field studies made by the Archbishopric's Department of Religious Sociology, on any given Sunday precisely ten percent of the Catholic population goes to mass. The measurements were taken in the fall and spring, as in the winter people do not go to church due to the cold, and in the summer they are kept away by vacations. In the case of Protestants, 49.3 percent fulfill their obligation to go to weekly worship, according to CEP-Adimark. In numerical terms, today Catholics make up 73 percent of the population, 18 percent less than they did in the 1970 census. At that time a paltry 6.18 percent of the population was Protestant; now the figure is 19.2 percent.

In any event, there are many other revealing statistics. Several surveys conducted between 1985 and 1987 indicated that only about 65 percent of the population of Santiago was Catholic. Among these surveys was one by Diagnos and another by the Evangelical Program of Socio-Religious Studies (PRESOR). A poll conducted by this organization in Region VIII in 1988 revealed that only 51.4 percent of the population considered themselves Catholic.

A phenomenon that is repeated in almost all the countries of Latin America, the advancement of Protestantism is attributed to reasons that range from the passivity of the Catholic Church to the need for a more spiritual discourse among the poor. One response given by the hierarchy is that those who have gone over to other religious groups are looking for an escape, primarily through emotionalism. "Because of the social problems they must endure, they succumb to spiritualism. 'No matter,' they say, 'the world just won't change, so I'll go find another nest,'" says Father Francisco Sampedro, national director of ecumenicism for the Episcopal Conference. In fact, the debate is part of the struggle within the Church between the more traditional sectors and the progressives. The former blame Liberation Theology for the phenomenon. According to this view, by giving priority to themes such as the need for political change to eliminate social injustice, often using Marxist methods of analysis, the progressive wing created a spiritual vacuum that was gradually filled by Evangelical and Protestant groups. The defenders of Liberation Theology, on the other hand, feel that without this emphasis on political and social aspects, the Church would have lost a lot more ground.

To reinforce their argument, the conservative sectors like to cite the examples of Argentina and Colombia, where the Evangelical groups are not very well represented. It is no coincidence, say the more traditional sectors, that the ecclesiastical hierarchies of these two countries are the least supportive of the tenets of Liberation Theology. The fact is that Protestantism has grown more vigorously among the poor. According to the CEP poll, 25.8 percent of the poor identify themselves as Protestants, compared to 14.8 percent in the middle class. There are also some places in Chile, such as Curanilahue (Region VIII), where practically all of the population is Evangelical. In Santiago neighborhoods such as Pudahuel and Renca, the figure is nearly 35 percent.

Nevertheless, it would be illusory to think that the Catholic Church is only losing adherents in the marginal sectors. One indication that the invasion is widespread is the growth figures of other groups that are not in the "Evangelical" category. These are sects, such as the Mormons, who seek followers primarily in the middle class. In 1981, there were 107,480 registered Mormons; that figure has now nearly tripled, to 277,513. This group has also proven to be just as adept at financial management as its rivals in the Catholic Church.

In addition to having built more than 350 magnificent churches throughout the country, the Mormons manage their activities using modern tools such as computers. In contrast, the Archbishopric of Santiago is still working with typewriters and obsolete file cabinets. Like other groups headquartered in the United States, the Mormons receive funding from abroad, and can also count on the tithe contributed by the vast majority of their congregations.

Another organization that enjoys enviable financial health is the Seventh Day Adventist Church. It runs 35 primary schools and eight secondary schools, in addition to two higher education institutions: the Adventist Institute and the Adventist University of Chile, founded this year. It also has a radio program, "The Voice of Hope," which is broadcast on 100 stations throughout the country. "The programs are paid for with the congregation's tithes. And if one of them has a lot of money, he pays for the program himself," boasts Eliel Almonte, chief of the religious organization. This church also has a foundation, Adra, that supplies food and clothing to various centers opened by the government. In contrast, most Catholics simply ignore the obligation to contribute one percent of their income.

In terms of missions, the Archbishopric of Santiago is by far surpassed by a single rival group: The Pentecostal Methodist Church. The diocese carries out an average of about 20 missions a year. Approximately 100 Catholics participate in each one, for a total of about 2,000. In the Pentecostal Methodist Church, a single pastor (and there are 280 of them) can have 7,000 preachers at his service; they learn oratorical techniques and Biblical knowledge by imitation. In that church's Santiago cathedral alone, there are 2,200 Sunday school teachers. Many people feel

that the Catholic Church's real Achilles' tendon is precisely its chronic shortage of priests, especially in low-income areas. Whereas in Vitacura or Las Condes the faithful usually have three different times to choose from to attend Sunday mass, in neighborhoods such as La Pintana as many as four churches have to share a priest. In rural areas, the situation takes on dramatic proportions. In Traiguen, Region IX, a priest must serve 14 churches, so he is only able to appear at each one every three months. And the problem is growing worse every year. A decade ago there was one priest for every 5,000 inhabitants. Now, with just over 2,000 priests, the ratio is one to 6,500. Since the distribution is irregular, there are many parishes where 50,000 inhabitants have only one priest. In the north the situation is worse; in some parishes in the desert there is simply no priest. In places like that, the Protestants are able to attract adherents with ease.

But the most devastating figures for the traditional predominance of Catholicism in Chile—and in Latin America—are those referring to the observance of the norms that constitute the basis of the faith. In addition to the small number of Catholics who go to mass every Sunday, there is evidence of an overwhelming abandonment of habits and dogmas within the Vatican's flock. A study by the Jesuit Center for Socio-Cultural Research (CISOC), conducted in 1979, revealed that a mere 51.2 percent of Santiago Catholics believe that the priest has the power to forgive sins, and 49 percent never go to confession. Even more serious is the fact that only 49.3 percent believe in the resurrection of the dead, one of the fundamental tenets of faith in the Church.

It is numbers like these that lead representatives of the Catholic Church to believe that the main threat is not posed by the Protestant adversaries or by sects, but rather by the precarious situation of most of their flock. "It would be no small feat for the Church to keep the followers it has," declares Sampedro. There are even priests who do not hide their admiration for the methods the Protestants use to win the fervor of their adherents. One example is their recognition of the Bible as a key instrument in propagating the faith. "The best thing the Pentecostal Evangelicals have, in comparison with the Catholics, is their love of the Word," says the curate of the University Pastoral, Alvaro Gonzalez. The curate confesses that he has tried to lend more importance to the Bible during mass, using as part of the liturgy a table especially designed for reading.

One of the points of the New Evangelization, which will be promoted during the celebration of the 500th anniversary of the discovery of America, is the distribution of 300,000 Bibles.

But more than that, some Catholic priests believe that where the Church should imitate the Protestants and the Evangelicals is in the commitment and dedication of its members. There are plenty of examples of people like Jose Diaz, 24, an Evangelical who is a junior executive at a company. He went to Rengo every weekend for six months until he had converted a family to his religion. This family, in turn, will try to make the movement grow.

Many priests think it is imperative that lay Catholics be encouraged to participate more. "Some sectors of the hierarchy do not appreciate the lay person, and some lay people want the priest to do everything," complains Sampedro. Nothing can be further from this Catholic clericalism than the motivation provided by the Pentecostal Church, which gives important roles to each new member. This allows them to escape from a world where in most instances they are never taken into account. As a result of this activism, which makes them channel most of their energy toward spiritual betterment, they become more responsible people and then they feel more valued by society.

"In Chile today, the best thing that can happen to a businessman is to have an Evangelical come along," says Carmen Galilea, a sociologist at CISOC. Habits such as discipline and responsibility on the job, as well as an austere lifestyle, contribute to this good reputation.

So far in Chile the advancement of Protestants and Evangelicals has not translated into a political power commensurate with the size of their flocks. There is no doubt, however, that this is an electorate with conservative inclinations, as was demonstrated by the strong ties between its leaders and the military regime. It is no secret that General Augusto Pinochet stimulated the growth of these groups, even legitimizing them with his presence at the Evangelical Te Deum in response to his problems with the progressive sectors of the Catholic Church. At any rate, Pinochet seems to have launched a tradition. President Patricio Aylwin, a devout Catholic, also attended the Evangelical Te Deum.

Without a doubt, sooner or later the presence of the Evangelicals will be felt on the political scene. In countries such as Brazil, they have representatives in the legislature, and in Peru they were responsible for giving an initial boost to President Alberto Fujimori's candidacy. Thanks to Fujimori's election, the Evangelicals today have the largest congressional delegation of those groups in Latin America.

Colombia

Foreign Minister Defends Decrees on Traffickers

PA2712221090 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 1731 GMT 27 Dec 90

[Text] Bogota, 27 Dec (NOTIMEX)—Colombian Foreign Minister Luis Fernando Jaramillo said today that the U.S. Government "understands," Colombia's "new law" regarding drug traffickers.

The government official termed Decrees 2047 and 3030 as "a sovereign act to judge our own citizens." Jaramillo said this in response to the attacks made on these two

decrees that guarantee those drug traffickers who surrender non-extradition and reduced sentences.

Jaramillo stressed that the attacks on these two decrees—considered by THE NEW YORK TIMES and THE WASHINGTON POST as concessions to Colombian drug traffickers—come "from the U.S. media." He said that State Department officials, however, understand our new policy.

Jaramillo added that the United States has not cut back the antidrug aid granted to Colombia in any way. This sum, which amounts to approximately $100 million every year, represents a mere five percent of the $2 billion that the war against the Colombian capos cost in 1989.

Meanwhile, the Colombia foreign minister noted that during the first four and a half months of President Gaviria's administration, the nation's foreign policy has been revamped.

Jaramillo stressed that the Group of Three—Colombia, Mexico, and Venezuela—are making steady and definite progress toward the realization of coal, gas, and oil conservation programs.

According to Jaramillo, the Rio Group—comprising 11 Latin American nations—has become a forum of positive political cooperation and consultation that promotes Latin America's joint goals.

"We have also given more support to the Andean Pact (Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, and Bolivia), and we are on the verge of reaching an agreement on the Regional Economic Integration organization," Jaramillo noted.

To conclude, the foreign minister said that Colombian-Venezuelan relations—traditionally tense due to border disputes—"are currently better than ever."

Defense Minister Sees FARC's Power Waning

PA2712182390 Bogota Inravsion Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 1730 GMT 26 Dec 90

[Text] Defense Minister General Oscar Botero Restrepo today commented on the escalating violence of the guerrillas. He said that armed subversion is weakening. He stressed that the Extraditables, who are holding five newsmen hostage, do not want peace.

Defense Minister Botero said that the increased violence of the self-styled Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, which resulted in more than 20 guerrillas dead, five policemen, and one priest kidnapped, and the destruction of two vessels of the CENAR [not further identified] enterprise in El Guaviare are a result of the military weakening of the subversive organization.

[Begin Botero Restrepo recording] I believe that they are weakened militarily because their headquarters in La Uribe, in the Cazador area, was very important to them for coordination, control and administrative purposes. [end recording]

Regarding the release of the five newsmen who have been held for 119 days by the Extraditables, who said that they would be released before Christmas, Botero said that the rebel group has not shown willingness for peace.

[Begin Botero recording] They are committing an arbitrary act by holding several citizens captive. I do not see any willingness for peace, if they are holding several kidnapped people. [end recording]

Gen. Botero Restrepo said that the government has not closed the door on dialogue with the rebels, despite their continued outlaw activities.

Paraguay

Minister Sees No Reason To Keep GSP Sanction

PY2512175890 Asuncion ABC COLOR in Spanish 22 Dec 90 p 21

[Excerpt] Justice and Labor Minister Hugo Estigarribia Elizeche has stated that the lifting of the sanction that is keeping Paraguay out of the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) is just a matter of time. He said he did not know of any new circumstances for maintaining the tariff sanction at this time because, he said, the circumstances that prompted it already have been overcome.

Estigarribia said the circumstances that prompted the economic sanction against Paraguayan products on the U.S. market already have disappeared. He noted that the allegations for excluding Paraguay from the GSP were the lack of union freedom, few efforts by the government to improve working conditions, and the lack of the political will to create modern legal mechanisms.

Asked if the move by the head of the Labor Directorate to disqualify himself from deciding on the request for legal recognition filed by the union of workers of ANDE [National Electric Power Administration] could be considered a reason for delaying the lifting of the tariff sanction, Estigarribia said: "Paraguay was punished for specific, concrete causes. Those circumstances have disappeared. Thus, there is no reason to create new situations to maintain the sanction. Since the sanction was provoked by specific circumstances, it must be lifted now that these circumstances have disappeared." [passage omitted]

New Telecommunications Chairman Named

PY2812000290 Asuncion ULTIMA HORA in Spanish 27 Dec 90 p 13

[Summary] The executive branch this morning appointed Colonel Guillermo Godoy Gimenez president of the National Telecommunications Administration Council, replacing Colonel Miguel Cirilo Guanes.

Peru

President Fujimori Comments on National Issues

PY2712130890 Lima LA REPUBLICA in Spanish 23 Dec 90 p 4

[Text] President Alberto Fujimori said last night that his government has no evidence of any telephone tapping or espionage carried out during his administration by members of the National Intelligence Service, or any proof that its director, General Edwin Diaz, is responsible for it.

Although an investigation is being carried out on this issue by a congressional investigating committee (headed by Senator Javier Diez Canseco) and by the judicial branch, Fujimori said that "he has no evidence that Gen. Diaz was responsible for it."

He added that reportedly these events occurred under the previous administration and that he is not aware that it is occurring under his administration. He said: "I am awaiting the outcome of the judicial branch investigation."

He hinted that measures, transfers, and sanctions will be implemented if necessary when the conclusions of the investigation are known.

President Fujimori made these comments during an interview aired last night with Channel 5 reporters Guido Lombardi and Fernando Vasquez at the Government House.

In the interview, Fujimori discussed important issues that are creating concern among politicians and the people in general.

Fujimori again discussed the issue of military courts ("which has been misinterpreted by some of the media") and the antisubversive struggle.

He also discussed the negotiations with the IMF and international financial organizations, the educational system, and moralization, which he considers to be the most important issues.

He explained his proposal that police and military members who commit common crimes should be tried by civilian courts and that those police and military members who commit crimes while on duty in the emergency zones should be tried by military courts.

Fujimori added that if they are found responsible for human rights violations, they will be tried without hesitation.

He discarded the idea of any coup attempt by the Armed Forces or that there is unrest in military circles for not appointing General Juan Fernandez Davila as Army commander.

Fujimori emphatically pointed out that profound changes have been made in the police and military forces to tailor them to urgent needs. He added that, despite these changes, violation of human rights continue.

He said: "Unfortunately incidents do occur. We hope corrections will be made, and I am not talking only of isolated cases within the Armed Forces."

Regarding the issue of moralization, Fujimori denied the existence of a "political marriage" with the APRA [American Popular Revolutionary Alliance] ("maybe with the Fredemo [Democratic Front]") and said that if the government supported former President Alan Garcia over the accusations against him it was because it believed that he had no political responsibility, merely a "predisposition" against him.

Fujimori added that the moralization program will continue and that there will be no agreement or pact with any political party.

Fujimori also reiterated that excessive bureaucracy prevails in the public administration and that it is necessary to rationalize the administration.

He added: "We are against just laying off people because it will only cause more unemployment."

He said that workers now have an "unemployment insurance" that will cover them until they become reemployed.

He also denied that there is a relationship between the economic program announced on 8 August and the negotiations with the IMF.

He said: "The observations made by the IMF are logical but we have not implemented the reforms requested."

He indicated that the measures currently being implemented are not as harsh for the people as the shock treatment, which was talked about so much, would have been because that would have hit them twice as hard.

He said that important agreements were reached with the IMF and that the fresh loans will arrive in the next few months. He explained that he is not an "IMF supporter" but that he wants Peru to become reincorporated into the international financial system. He added: "We cannot have fewer rights than other countries."

Government Condemns 'Disruption' in Suriname

PY2812023090 Lima Television Peruana in Spanish 0100 GMT 28 Dec 90

[Text] Through a communique issued by the Foreign Ministry, the Peruvian Government today strongly condemned the disruption of the democratic institutional order in Suriname. The communique also appeals to those who currently hold power to immediately restore the state of law and democracy.

Terrorists Kill Two Policemen in Huachipa

PY2712225690 Lima Television Peruana in Spanish 1800 GMT 27 Dec 90

[Excerpt] At approximately 0900 this morning, six terrorists—four men and two women—traveling in a red 1981 Opel with license plate KG-8170 and a yellow pickup truck attacked two members of the General Police, the former Civil Guards, at km 11 of the central highway, Avenida de las Torres, at the first exit to Jicamarca.

Corporal Jose Mejias Cajarillo, 29, and 2d Sergeant Eulogio Montes Vega, 36, who were posted to the Huachipa police station, died in the clash with the terrorists.

The incident took place when the two policemen were intercepted by the terrorists—who were repelled—on their way to fulfill their duties. [passage omitted]

Uruguay

Lacalle, Columnists React to Bush Visit

PY2812001090

[Editorial Report] LA HORA POPULAR on 6 December carries on page 5 a 1,000-word report on a news conference held by President Luis Alberto Lacalle in which he evaluates the results of President Bush's visit.

Lacalle notes without elaborating that "unfortunately there were some illegal episodes that tarnished" the visit. He points out that Uruguay has found a "renewed role" through domestic tolerance, its open political system, and the current modernization of its socioeconomic system. He goes on to say that Uruguay must help forge the Southern Cone common market and then "promote a link between that huge portion of South America and the Americas Initiative."

Lacalle adds that the Americas Initiative is really in the hands of the U.S. Congress because the program "will lose its essential contents if President Bush, who has given his name to the initiative and is responsible for it, is not given the legal power to pardon debts and grant credits." He emphasizes "the importance that the Americas Initiative has for the countries in this zone."

In conclusion, Lacalle says that "the U.S. President's visit was positive, and we have conveyed who we are and the idea that we have to do our part."

The same paper publishes a 650-word editorial on page 8 entitled "Bush Is Gone, the Fatherland Remains." The editorial criticizes U.S. policy and propaganda and wonders about the real objectives of Bush's visit, commenting: "It is imperative to generate propaganda on the Americas Initiative and create a great illusion that will allow the continuation of dependence for some time and thereby promote the development of a new expansive phase of capitalism throughout Latin America."

After further criticizing the Americas Initiative, the editorial notes: "President Bush's effort to disguise the real interests that brought him to our land was fairly obvious. His relaxed demeanor and protocol behavior barely changed, even when he had to improvise an impossible explanation, stating that the North American soldiers in Panama do not represent an occupying army."

The editorial goes on to state: "We have always been promised liberty and prosperity. We have always been told that we were on the same boat. Thus far, all predictions have failed."

The 13-19 December issue of the Montevideo weekly BUSQUEDA carries a 1,350-word commentary by Tomas Linn on the results of Bush's visit. Linn begins by stating: "During his visit to Montevideo, President George Bush's most impressive statement was: 'To hell with our past differences.' He made this comment during a cordial conversation as the visitor tried to convince the Montevideo mayor (a socialist) that the free market system was the solution to all evils."

Reviewing the results of the visit, Linn writes: "Bush did not stay for more than one day in the countries he visited, from which we must subtract the time he slept, the time he spent traveling, the hours he used to deliver and listen to nicely balanced speeches, and the official acts of courtesy. The possibilities for personal contacts were limited."

Moving on, Linn says: "After he became president, Bush demonstrated (at least in his gestures) more interest in Latin America than his predecessors. It is also true that he invaded Panama in a gross attempt to rid himself of Noriega. He has cordially received, however, the heads of state who have visited him and enthusiastically launched his 'Americas Initiative.'"

Linn concludes by stating that Bush's visit was "short and full of gestures" and by calling for action as a result of this visit.

Cuban Revolutionary Alliance Prints Declaration

PY2712111890 Montevideo LA HORA POPULAR in Spanish 17 Dec 90 p 3

[Text] The so-called "Cuban Revolutionary Alliance" [Alianza Revolucionaria Cubana] has published a public declaration in the Montevideo daily EL PAIS demanding "the ousting of Fidel and Raul Castro" and proposing that they "be replaced by a provisional government."

The declaration also says: "The new government must restore public freedom and create the necessary conditions for holding a constituent assembly."

It adds: "In order to achieve national freedom, we believe it is necessary to negotiate with the sectors of the Communist Party and the Armed Forces that advocate a democratic opening."

The organization says: "We want the dictatorship overthrown but we are against Cuba being occupied by or surrendered to foreign military forces. We will never accept, either ideologically or economically, the loss or the impairment of Cuban national sovereignty."

The declaration was signed by several dozen people.

Suriname

Shankar, Arron Submit Resignations

FL2812134090 Hilversum International Service in English 1030 GMT 28 Dec 90

[Text] In Suriname, President Ramsewak Shankar and Vice President Henck Arron have officially submitted their resignations to parliament. The resignations are still under consideration while parliament awaits the nomination of new candidates for the new post. Parliament indicates the nominations are to come from the proper authorities, and observers have interpreted that remark to mean the National Army. Once parliament has appointed a new president and vice president, the resignations of Mr. Shankar and Mr. Arron will be officially accepted.

Sources in the Surinamese capital Paramaribo say the parliament will probably fill the two offices by next week.

New Government To Be Sworn in 29 Dec

PA2712224190 Paris AFP in Spanish 1916 GMT 27 Dec 90

[Text] Paramaribo, 27 Dec (AFP)—A transition government that will replace Ramsewak Shankar's ousted civilian government will be sworn in on Saturday 29 December in Suriname, it was announced today in Paramaribo by the military authority's spokesman, Borger Breeveld.

The military authority, the highest military command led by Commander Ivan Graanoogst, carried out a bloodless coup d'etat on Christmas Day.

Shankar, Vice President Henck Arron, and his ministers will remain in the government until the parliament swears in the next administration, Breeveld stated.

The president who is appointed on Saturday will announce the exact date of the general elections, promised by the military in approximately 100 days, Commander Graanoogst said.

The parliament is in a session today in Paramaribo. Shankar, Arron, and the cabinet are expected to tender their formal resignations when the meeting concludes.

The parliament, the highest constitutional authority, is discussing economic development plans for this former Dutch colony. Analysts consider this to be an attempt to allow some time for the appointment of the new executive branch.

The names of the candidates who can possibly be appointed to the post of provisional president are still unknown.

According to the local newspaper DE WARE TIJD, Desi Bouterse—former chief of the Armed Forces and military ruler of Suriname for eight years—is holding talks "on the country's situation" with Jaggernath Lachmon, president of the parliament. Lachmon refused to reveal what was discussed during those talks.

Even though Shankar's government accepted Bouterse's resignation as chief of the Armed Forces, Graanoogst said today that "the parliament has yet to adopt a decision on the issue," thus prompting the journalists' and diplomats' comments about Bourterse's possible return to the military leadership.

Bouterse resigned on Saturday 22 December, thus precipitating the military coup. He resigned because of what he considered a "humiliation" from the Government of the Netherlands and Shankar's lack of support.

The military officer particularly reproached Shankar's failure to intervene in his favor when the Dutch authorities denied him the right to meet with that country's media on three occasions and when he was "confined" to a small secluded area of the airport in Amsterdam during a stopover last week.

Graanoogst assumed Bouterse's post on Sunday 23 December, stating that he would act according to the Constitution, and he promised elections in 100 days.

The president and vice president of Suriname are elected by the parliament rather than by direct vote.

Commander Says Assembly To Decide on Government

FL2712154590 Bridgetown CANA in English 1507 GMT 27 Dec 90

[Text] Bridgetown, Barbados, Dec. 27, CANA—Suriname's civilian National Assembly was meeting Thursday morning after a Christmas Eve coup, amidst speculation this was preparatory to handing over state power to the Army.

"The Assembly is meeting now behind closed doors, and I think it has to do with (handing over power)," the Caribbean News Agency's [CANA's] Paramaribo correspondent said in a telephone interview. The former Dutch colony was calm and there was no visible military presence as people began going back to work after the Christmas holiday, he reported.

On Monday, prior to the bloodless takeover, military officers declared support for Desi Bouterse's decision to resign as Suriname Armed Forces commander and they

filed a no-confidence motion against the government of President Ramsewak Shankar.

Acting Armed Forces Chief Ivan Graanoogst said it was for the National Assembly (Parliament) to decide the government's fate. He promised the Army leadership would respect the National Assembly's decision. The motion, submitted to Parliament, accused Shankar of "not having acted adequately" when Dutch authorities recently stopped Bouterse from speaking to reporters while in transit at Amsterdam Airport after he had been denied an entry visa.

Lieutenant-Colonel Bouterse, who ruled this former Dutch colony for eight years after a 1980 military coup, denounced Shankar as a "joker" on his return home Saturday night, and announced his resignation. A democratic government, headed by Shankar who is both head of state and government, took office on January 25, 1988.

Army officers, in their motion, said Bouterse's decision was "logical and respectable" after Shankar had "humiliated and insulted" the military leadership. The officers accused the Shankar government of "consciously weakening" the military in its struggle against "terrorism"—a reference to an ongoing insurgency in eastern Suriname. They also protested the stripping of the military police of arrest powers in the face of what the motion called increased criminality here.

The Dutch Government suspended all aid to the country following the coup.

Venezuela Asks for OAS Meeting on Coup

FL2712131590 Bonaire Trans World Radio in English 1130 GMT 27 Dec 90

[Text] Surinamese President Ramsewak Shankar and other top officials have been negotiating their new position after a Christmas Eve non-violent military coup. A spokesman at the Surinamese Embassy in The Hague says Surinamese president, Ramsewak Shankar, could remain in office if he agrees to the dismissal of his ministers and the calling of new elections.

Suriname's president, Ramsewak Shankar, could submit his resignation today after a non-violent military coup on Christmas Eve. In The Hague, a Surinamese Embassy spokesman told Radio Nederlands that Mr. Shankar could keep his post if he agrees to a series of demands by the military regime led by Ivan Graanoogst. They include a dismissal of his ministers and the calling of new elections. The military interim government has issued what it calls Five Principles for the Reconstruction of Social Life in Suriname.

In Paramaribo things are reported calm after the coup, in fact, nearly normal. A top U.S. State Department official has repeated a U.S. call for Suriname's military to give power back to the elected government. The deputy assistant secretary of state for the Caribbean, Sally Cole, dismissed the promise by Suriname's military to hold elections within 100 days. She also added that Monday's coup did not come as a complete shock to U.S. authorities because tensions had existed between the ousted civilian government and the Army.

Venezuela has requested an urgent meeting of the permanent council of the Organization of American States [OAS] to consider Monday's coup. OAS officials say a date for the meeting has not been set, but it could be as early as Friday, tomorrow.

President Negotiates To Stay in Office

FL2712125790 Hilversum International Service in English 1030 GMT 27 Dec 90

[Text] Surinamese President Ramsewak Shankar and other leading member of the government of Suriname have been conducting negotiations concerning their position in the wake of the military coup. The president and his cabinet could submit their resignations today.

A spokesman at the Surinamese Embassy in The Hague says President Shankar can remain in office if he agrees to the dismissal of the ministers and the calling of new elections. The military authority has issued a statement outlining five principles which it will consider in what is called the Reconstruction of Social Life. In that process, the military authorities say the Constitution will be respected, the rights of the people acknowledged, and the democratic rule of law accepted.

In Paramaribo meanwhile it has become clear the coup took place without the firing of a single shot and without any arrests. Meantime, the U.S. State Department has advised its citizens not to travel to Suriname because of the recent instability. The U.S. and France have joined the Netherlands in condemning the military coup in that country.